

A Maturing Market

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# A Maturing Market

*The Iberian Book World in the First Half of the  
Seventeenth Century*

*Edited by*

Alexander S. Wilkinson

Alejandra Ulla Lorenzo



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Cover illustration: Three woodcut images from the *Doze comedias famosas de quatro poetas naturales de la ciudad de Valencia* (Madrid: por Juan Serrano de Vargas Urueña y Miguel Serrano de Vargas, a costa de Miguel Martínez, 1614). Image courtesy of the Biblioteca Nacional de España.

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## Notes on Contributors

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was born in Stirling and educated at the University of St Andrews, where he gained an MA in Modern History, MLitt in Reformation Studies, and PhD on the topic of Mary Queen of Scots in the Polemical Literature of the French Wars of Religion (under Andrew Pettegree). In 2001, he was appointed Project Manager of the British Academy and AHRC-funded French Vernacular Book Project at St Andrews, before moving to Ireland in 2006 to take up a lectureship at University College Dublin. Now a Professor in the School of History, Alexander (or Sandy) is also Director of the UCD Centre for the History of the Media as well as of *Iberian Books*. Funded by two major awards from the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation, the objective of *Iberian Books* is to offer the first modern bibliographical survey of Spanish and Portuguese print before 1700. Sandy is a Fellow of the Royal Historical Society, and the author of several studies of the early-modern European book world.

### *Alejandra Ulla Lorenzo*

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*Manuel Calderón Calderón*

was awarded his PhD in Romance Languages from the University of Barcelona. He is a civil servant and senior member of the Spanish Department of Spanish Institute of Lisbon (Secondary School). He is also a researcher in Estudos's Center of Theatre at the University of Lisbon, where he is involved in projects examining Portuguese authors and theatre in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. He has edited *Gil Vicente's Castilian Theatre* (Crítica, Barcelona, 1996); *Historia del invencible caballero Don Polindo (Toledo, 1526)* (University of Alcalá, 2003); Lope de Vega, *El Duque de Viseo* (Autonomous University of Barcelona, 2005); Fray Hortensio Paravicino, *La Gridonia* (CSIC, Madrid, 2009) and co-edited *Por s'entender bem a letra. Homenagem a Stephen Reckert* (Lisboa, Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda, 2011). He has translated into Spanish the *Farces* of Gil Vicente (Ediciones Antígona, Madrid, 2008) and has published numerous articles on medieval literature, the sixteenth and seventeenth-century Iberian theatre, puppetry as well as Brazilian literature of the twentieth century.

*Don Cruickshank*

was born in Fettercairn, Kincardineshire, in 1942, and brought up in Aberdeen, where he went to university. There he studied French, Italian and Modern History, and, in particular, Spanish (under Terence May and Peter Dunn). From Aberdeen he moved to Cambridge (Emmanuel College) to do a PhD on Calderón, under the supervision of Edward Wilson. In 1968 he was elected to a research fellowship in Emmanuel, remaining there until he was appointed to a lectureship at University College Dublin, where in due course he became a senior lecturer and an associate professor and, eventually, Professor of Spanish. He retired in 2007. His publications include a facsimile collection of early Calderón editions (Gregg International, 1973, with J.E. Varey, 19 vols), a study of the classical Spanish plays collected by the diarist Samuel Pepys (*Samuel*

*Pepys's Spanish Plays*, The Bibliographical Society, 1980, with E.M. Wilson) a biography of Calderón (*Don Pedro Calderón*, Cambridge UP, 2009), as well as numerous articles on classical Spanish plays, the book trade and typography in Spain. He is a member of the Grupo de Investigación Calderón de la Barca, based in the University of Santiago de Compostela, and a Member of the Royal Irish Academy.

*Henry Ettinghausen*

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*Ricard Expósito Amagat*

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University and at Université Paris Ouest Nanterre La Défense. Her doctoral dissertation focused on the reading practices and interpretive communities in Cervantes' *Don Quixote*, with special attention to the connections between social structures and reading habits, the printing industry and the book market during the Spanish Golden Age. She has published several papers on Cervantes's work, as well as on reading practices and theories, in international academic publications such as *Cervantes. Bulletin of the Cervantes Society of America*, *Crisol*, *Revue du Centre de Recherches Ibériques et Ibéro-Américaines: Université Paris X-Nanterre* and *Sociocriticism*. Her current research interests centre on the comparative aspects of reading as a social activity in Spain and Italy in the early-modern period, the history of the printing industry and the relationship between reception theory and reading practices.

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was born in Mexico City in 1979, and earned his BA in History at the National Autonomous University of Mexico, before pursuing a Masters in Hispanic Studies and then a PhD at the University of Leuven. His research focuses on the cultural relationships and exchanges between the Low Countries and the Hispanic World in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, as well as on the transatlantic book trade, book consumption, and book censorship in the Spanish Atlantic, especially in New Spain. In 2014, he joined the academic staff of the Bibliographic Research Institute at the National Autonomous University of Mexico where he studies early-modern Netherlandish books held in their collection. He also teaches a course on the history of the Low Countries for the Department of History. He has published a number of articles in international journals, and is currently preparing a major monograph on the circulation of Flemish books in New Spain.

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Edinburgh and Oxford. He is also a jazz musician, teacher and the author of a series of books for saxophone, clarinet and flute, published by Schott.

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teaches English Literature and Cultural Translation at the University of Granada, where he also obtained his PhD with a dissertation on the Earl of Surrey's translation of Virgil's *Aeneid*. His current research interests focus on the relations between translation, diplomacy and the book trade, their role in the construction of the international republic of letters and the early modern idea of Europe. Recent publications include a critical edition of *The Spanish Bawd*, James Mabbe's 1631 translation of *La Celestina* (London: MHRA 2013), and a collective volume co-edited with Edward Wilson-Lee titled *Translation and the Book Trade in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge University Press, 2014). In 2013, he was awarded a Cambridge Humanities Research Grant for a joint project with Edward Wilson-Lee on 'Collecting the Early Modern Book World', a study of the European and Transatlantic dimensions of Hernando Colon's remarkable book and manuscript collection (the Biblioteca Hernandina). This has turned into a joint project between the Centre for Material Texts (University of Cambridge) and the Literature and Translation Research Group (HUM 383, University of Granada). He is a member of the editorial board of the journal *Sendebare*, and he also belongs to the advisory board for the Modern Humanities Research Association series of Tudor and Stuart translations. He reviews books and articles for *Renaissance and Reformation*, *Translation and Literature*, *Renaissance Quarterly*, and *Sendebare*. He has lectured and spent periods as a visiting scholar at several international institutions, such as the universities of Washington in Seattle, California in Santa Barbara, Edinburgh, Oxford and Cambridge. During the Michaelmas term of 2015, he will be a visiting fellow at Sidney Sussex College, University of Cambridge.

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y *Renacentista* (Alcalá de Henares), the *Base de Datos del Diálogo Hispánico* (Complutense) and the *Centro de Literaturas de Expressão Portuguesa* or (Lisbon). He has worked as a Lecturer at the Complutense and University of Pavia. He has published ten books, most notably *Os livros de cavalaria portuguesas dos séculos XVI–XVIII* (2011) and *Palmerín de Inglaterra* (ed.) (2011), as well as more than twenty-five studies on topics such as Spanish and Portuguese chivalric texts, Cervantes and Portugal, book history, and sixteenth-century Portuguese dialogue. He is currently a researcher at the University of Porto.

*Esther Villegas de la Torre*

undertook her BA and MA degrees at the University of Manchester, before moving on to the University of Nottingham to complete her PhD in Hispanic Studies. Her research interests lie in the area of early-modern cultural history, with a focus on the interface between authorship, publication, and gender from a comparative and transnational perspective. Her doctoral thesis, 'Women and the Republic of Letters in the Luso-Hispanic World, 1447–1700', investigated the professionalization of the writer's career by charting the rise and consolidation of the image and position of women as writers, with parallels drawn from England, France, and Italy. Esther is currently an Associate Research Fellow in the Department of Spanish, Portuguese, and Latin American Studies at the University of Nottingham, and a Visiting Scholar in Spanish at the Universitat Pompeu Fabra, Barcelona. She is working with Jeremy Lawrance on a joint three-year MIMCO-funded research project on women's authority at court and in the convent in sixteenth-century Castile, led by Dr María Morrás Ruiz-Falcó at the Universitat Pompeu Fabra. Prior to this, Esther collaborated on two other international research projects: one, funded by the AHRC on the library of the Count-Duke of Olivares and the relationship between power, court, and culture in the early modern empire, and a second ANR-funded project, on drama precepts in Europe (1500–1700), drawn from the paratexts of printed plays in French, Italian, and Spanish. Her new research investigates women's careers as authors in the seventeenth century, with a focus on literary production in English, Portuguese, and Spanish.





# Introduction

Alexander S. Wilkinson

Sancho, my friend, know that I was born, by the will of heaven, in this our age of iron, to revive the one of gold, or the Golden Age, as it is called.<sup>1</sup>

MIGUEL DE CERVANTES, *Don Quijote*



One of the most powerful and dramatic tensions in Cervantes' *Don Quijote* (1605) lies in its depiction of the ambiguous relationship between the novel's central character and technology.<sup>2</sup> The armour-wearing, book-reading Don Quijote is forced to negotiate the real world around him, whilst mentally inhabiting a pre-technological golden age of chivalry as fictionalized in the popular printed romances in which he immerses himself so intensely and unhealthily. For him, the age of iron with its printing presses, windmills, firearms and much else besides, stand incongruously and incomprehensibly beside how life ought to be, a utopian pastoral idyll. Through the madness of his central character, a man who journeys precariously through a refracted reality, Cervantes' novel beckons its readers to reflect on the varied, often subtle and sometimes contradictory ways in which technological innovation has influenced and shaped their own lives.

Perhaps the most ubiquitous symbol of societal transformation in the early-modern era/iron age was the printing press. The buoyant optimism and passions that had heralded the arrival of the book in the Peninsula in the early 1470s, and which greeted it – almost unquestionably- as a progressive force, had long since given way to more tempered and layered opinion.<sup>3</sup>

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1 Miguel de Cervantes, *Don Quixote: A new translation by Edith Grossman, narrated by George Guidall* (New York: Harper Collins, 2005), 1.227–8, p. 142.

2 See José Antonio Maravall, *Utopía y contrautopía en el Quijote* (Santiago de Compostela: Editorial Pico Sacro, 1976), and Iván Jaksic, 'Don Quijote's Encounter with Technology', in *Cervantes: Bulletin of the Cervantes Society of America*, 14/1 (1994), 75–96.

3 See for instance the comments of Diego de Valera in his *Crónica de España* (Sevilla: Alfonso del Puerto, 1482) (USTC 333100), where he speaks of the 'marvellous art of writing which takes us back to the golden age, restoring to us in multiplied codices all that the wit of man can

The aftershocks of events powered by print, not least the German Reformations and the French Religious Wars, were felt hard across and beyond the continent of Europe. Less explosively, but as significantly, changes occurred incrementally to the scale and nature of how people interacted with print. There was a sustained rise in the number of books being printed and consumed – servicing an ever-growing literate public, with a widening social base. Such social changes inevitably prompted concern; anxieties were expressed over the role books could play in unstitching the moral fabric, or in propagating falsehoods and inaccuracies, to the point where it was difficult even for the discerning classes to distinguish fact from fiction.<sup>4</sup> Print was often looked upon with circumspection, with some texts warranting censorship and prohibition. Yet, books continued to race through the arteries of Spain and Portugal's cultural life, embraced as something crucial to intellectual exchange, to the spiritual nourishment of the faithful, and to the richness of the cultural environment.

To begin to explore the multi-dimensional relationship between print and Iberian culture in the first half of the seventeenth century, we must first understand just how the publishing industry was structured, what was printed and what was read. Yet, until very recently, our ability to do just that was severely constrained. The absence of a single national catalogue for Spain and Portugal has long been an obstacle to research. The nineteenth and twentieth-century bibliographical tradition proceeded by preparing surveys of individual printing centres; this coverage remained far from complete, and no attempt was ever made to bring the information together into a single, unified resource. Although the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries were comparatively well serviced, albeit with individual bibliographies, the same could hardly be said for the seventeenth century and beyond. Recognising the deficiencies in the existing infrastructure, we assembled a team and in 2006 began work at University College Dublin on *Iberian Books* – intended as a foundational national catalogue. We gathered information from a host of library catalogues worldwide, from published bibliographies, auction catalogues, and from a range of other sources. A unified resource of this nature is transformative, offering opportunities for contextualisation, comparative investigation, and for the charting of

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learn of the past, present, and future', cited in Frederick J. Norton, *Printing in Spain 1501–1520* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1966), p. 117.

4 See the wonderful article by Barbara Fuchs, 'Don Quijote 1 and the Forging of National History', in Harold Bloom (ed.), *Miguel de Cervantes' Don Quixote* (New York: Infobase Publishing, 2010), pp. 145–164. Here, Fuchs argues that Cervantes' discussion of romances was in fact a cover for a critique of the construction of historical knowledge.

long-term trends. The project has proceeded in distinct chronological phases. In 2010, *Iberian Books* published its catalogue of printing in Spain, Portugal and the New World before 1601.<sup>5</sup> In 2014, this survey was extended to 1650.<sup>6</sup> A conference was organised in Dublin to mark and acknowledge the importance of its publication, bringing together a cross-disciplinary group of literary scholars, historians, and bibliographers. We wanted to see how *Iberian Books* could inform our understanding and appreciation for the maturing Iberian publishing industry. Equally, we were eager to learn how new and vibrant research being conducted by scholars elsewhere could help enrich and inform the data that we saw emerging from the project.

The volume of essays presented here emerged from this 2014 conference – an event that was as intellectually stimulating as it was convivial. It comprises fourteen contributions, arranged in four parts. Almost inevitably given the overarching theme, many of the chapters identify change – what was distinctive about this period, either in changing relationships between publisher, author, and reader, or the development of new genres. Equally, we find that such shifts can only be understood fully within the context of processes far longer in the making.

## Part 1

The volume opens with ‘Surveys of the Book Trade’. This offers a selection of broad overviews that reveal the structure of the book world. In the first chapter, I probe the overall data collected by *Iberian Books* and investigate what this can tell us about the publishing industry in the first half of the seventeenth century. Notwithstanding very real issues of loss, which have undoubtedly distorted the available record, scholars can make use of what we do know to get to grips with larger trends.<sup>7</sup> Against a challenging demographic and economic

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5 Alexander S. Wilkinson (ed.), *Iberian Books. Libros Ibéricos. Books Published in Spanish or Portuguese or on the Iberian Peninsula before 1601. Libros publicados en español o portugués o en la Península Ibérica antes de 1601* (Leiden: Brill, 2010).

6 Alexander S. Wilkinson and Alejandra Ulla Lorenzo (eds.), *Iberian Books (Volumes II & III). Books published in Spain, Portugal and the New World or elsewhere in Spanish or Portuguese between 1601 and 1650. Libros publicados en España, Portugal y el Nuevo Mundo o en otros lugares en español o portugués entre 1601 y 1650* (2 vols., Leiden: Brill, 2015). The bibliography is also available online as part of two open-access repositories – at <http://iberian.ucd.ie> and <http://ustc.ac.uk>.

7 On loss, see now Flavia Bruni and Andrew Pettegree (eds.), *Lost Books: Reconstructing the Print World of Early-Modern Europe* (Leiden: Brill, 2016).

backdrop, we can—for the first time—trace and quantify the very marked increase in production in this period. Without question, the rise in the number of books flowing from the presses can be attributed at least in part to a growing reading public. However, it was also the consequence of the new and diverse uses to which print was being put – especially by the organs of civil and religious administration. Print quickly became a ubiquitous presence, especially in urban centres. In terms of the structural configuration of the industry, there were many centres of printing in Spain and Portugal. Indeed, the dispersed nature of production had been apparent from the earliest years of the Iberian book. So too the waxing and waning in importance of different centres over time. This scattered geographical pattern continued into the seventeenth century, but now with different winners and losers. Madrid's position as the largest centre of production, established from the 1590s, was consolidated in the first half of the seventeenth century. Other centres which had been prominent in the sixteenth century saw their fortunes fall – not least Salamanca, Valencia and Burgos. The data from *Iberian Books* can also help scholars reflect on shifting contemporary appetites for reading material. We find, for instance, a decline in the relative importance of religious literature, a significant expansion in printed news, alongside a truly breath-taking increase in the use of print for routine legal purposes.

Probing what was printed in Spain, Portugal and their associated territories, can only capture part of a market that was, at least in some respects, genuinely transnational in character. The second chapter in the volume, by César Manrique, focuses on the city of Antwerp. He shines a spotlight on the sophisticated commercial networks and relationships that were such an essential part of the trade. With movement of capital, the availability of materials, the abundance of craftspeople and ability to leverage existing commercial networks, Antwerp became a vibrant publishing centre in this period, with very direct channels of book distribution to the Iberian world – especially to Seville and Madrid. Manrique draws on a rich seam of evidence to demonstrate that vernacular Spanish editions printed in Antwerp were not necessarily destined for Spain; many were bought for sale in the immediate area, or in neighbouring territories. However, perhaps the most important aspect of his chapter lies in his reconstruction of the commercial strategies of two of the most important printing operations in Antwerp – those of the Moretus and Van Keerberghen families – and of the processes they employed to dispatch books to Spain. Manrique stresses the importance of family networks in the oversight of the various stages of the distribution process, and investigates the relationships between publishers, agents and merchants in their efforts to sell their products.

The third chapter, by Idalia García, confirms the importance of understanding the Iberian book trade within a transnational framework, offering

insight into the importation of books into New Spain, and of their subsequent circulation. García delves deeply into what is to date an almost wholly under-exploited body of archival material housed in the Archivo General in Mexico City. This archive was created largely as a result of inquisitorial activity – a consequence of procedures linked to reviewing shipments from Seville to the New World, as well as documents generated during the process of checking the inventories of stock held by bookshops. A market more carefully monitored than most, García's analysis offers important evidence of the size and diversity of book collections in Mexico in the early-modern period.

The fourth chapter is offered by the co-editor of this volume and my long-term collaborator on *Iberian Books*, Alejandra Ulla Lorenzo. The powerful contribution made by women to the early-modern European book trade has been the subject of increasing attention over the past few decades.<sup>8</sup> Far less attention, however, has been focused on the Spanish and Portuguese experience. Ulla Lorenzo redresses this imbalance, battling pronounced difficulties in source material. It is often hugely problematic to establish when and how women were active in the industry – archival evidence is very limited, and imprints are all too often misleading. Despite these obstacles, Ulla Lorenzo recreates some of the experiences of women, telling their stories, and charting their varying fortunes. Some women established presses on their own, though most inherited the business following the death of a male relative, usually their husband. Of these, some acted as caretakers until a suitable male relative could be put in place. Other women, however, took command of the presses and changed the direction and fortune of the business – in many cases for the better.

## Part 2

The second part of the volume takes as its theme 'Addressing the Reader'. Books are read and understood by individuals. At best, we can glimpse some individual reactions to passages or to texts, through annotations or reflections committed to manuscript or in print at a later point. However, it is impossible to capture the full process of reading, which is far from a static act – experiences are continually forgotten, remembered and misremembered, juxtaposed and assimilated with other ideas. The act of reading or listening within group settings can be different still. It is challenging, then, with any great accuracy, to aggregate experiences of reading. Yet, there remains value – at least in very

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8 Not least the excellent monograph by Susan Broomhall, *Women and the Book Trade in Sixteenth-Century France* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002).

broad terms – in striving to understand how texts might have been understood. Seventeenth-century authors and publishers thought so too. Certainly, there was considerable angst amongst authors when confronted with what was seen to be an utterly transformed cultural landscape, where books connected with ever growing numbers of readers – some of whom were seen as discerning, others not. By analysing prefatory materials and considerations of the act of reading represented in contemporary texts, the three contributions offered by Sarah Malfatti, José María Pérez Fernández and Esther Villegas de la Torre, investigate how the maturing relationship between authors and their readers was understood contemporaneously. What emerges, and very clearly, is that authors and publishers actively targeted discrete groups of readers. They understood the reading public as being increasingly self-conscious, self-aware, and diastatic; that is to say, that they believed there to be distinct and identifiable communities of readers, perceived predominantly in socio-economic terms, who would tend to interpret texts differently.

Sarah Malfatti explores the relationship between books and readers as it is revealed in the pages of Cervantes' *Don Quijote*. Cervantes' attention to the interpretative circuit in the novel is acute. There are frequent discussions in the text of the act of writing and publishing, and indeed of how those texts were received and understood by their readers. Malfatti teases out these broader themes in her analysis of the novel, pointing not only to the expansion of the reading public, but also to the palpable anxiety and disquiet that arose in response. Concerns, reflected in but not restricted to Cervantes' novel, were expressed over acritical readers seeking out texts not for moral growth or spiritual enlightenment, but for entertainment. The book world was, after all, neither the tool nor the preserve of the social and intellectual elites; it was a commercial industry, and one which saw the advantages of connecting with larger communities of readers.

José María Pérez Fernández's "Reasons of State for Any Author" Common Sense, Translation and the International Republic of Letters' develops this notion further. Through close analysis of paratexts, his provocative chapter focuses on several case studies that illustrate the character and development of intellectual networks which set the scene for an 'international republic of letters as a virtual third space between the inveterate system of aristocratic patronage and the growing mass of urban consumers'.<sup>9</sup> This virtual third space, it is argued, emerged from anxieties surrounding the commercialisation of print, and in particular the mass of popular literature which reached an increasingly large, diverse, but undiscerning readership. Pérez Fernández

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9 See Chapter 6 below.

observes a general trend of authors deliberately shying away from making any moral function explicit in their works, instead transferring the responsibility for moral judgement to the readers themselves. A new gap in the market was also identified – far broader than the traditional academic sphere, but narrower than the reading public as a whole. Ambitious authors attempted to carve out a new reading community, targetting those they saw as ideal readers, a ‘meritorcracy of wit and ingenio’. This process set the stage for a ‘heterogenous and adiphoric’ public space of letters.

Esther Villegas also explores paratexts: laudatory stanzas, and prologues, but to investigate the creative role of the author. She argues, and convincingly, that it was in the early seventeenth century that we see a pronounced acceleration towards the professionalisation of the author. A wide range of authorial and editorial strategies could be employed to exploit personal details such as an author’s gender, place of birth, religious affiliation or social class. Authors could openly reflect within their works on the pragmatic function of dedications, of fame and financial remuneration, without damaging their reputation. There was a far greater self-confidence and self-consciousness in this period, which Villegas sees as a milestone towards a modern understanding of the author as an ‘autonomous artist’.

### Part 3

It would be difficult to discuss the development of the Iberian print trade in the seventeenth century without addressing the genre for which the period is most famous – printed theatre plays. Three contributions in the volume specifically treat this part of the book market. The seventeenth century was an extraordinarily fertile period for drama, electrified by the presence of outstanding dramatists, including Lope de Vega. These playwrights wrote plays for what seemed to have been a virtually insatiable public. With local authorities in some areas concerned about the impact of the plays on the morality of their populations, the closure of theatres, sometimes for long periods, was certainly not uncommon. There were also periods where the printing of plays was expressly prohibited. If anything, however, such acts served to further stoke the flames of public interest. Printed plays offered sensational opportunities for the world of publishing. While drama had been printed in Spain from as early as 1496, the huge volume of plays written, performed and published in the first half of the seventeenth century was on a wholly different scale to anything witnessed before. It was also unprecedented in a European context.

In 'Printed Plays in Early Modern Spain', Don Cruickshank offers a masterful overview of this environment, setting out how printed drama evolved in Spain, and the way in which it adopted and developed physical formats that had proved successful in other genres, to appeal to readers' tastes and their pockets. These very formats (*sueltas*, *desglosables* and *partes*) present huge problems for modern scholars attempting to reconstruct the market. Many items have been lost altogether, while those that have survived often do not carry a place of printing, printer or even date. Further, the popularity of these works, together with attempts to censor them at particular moments, led to pirated editions or the printing of items with disguised imprints. Later editions, moreover, often purported to be earlier than they actually were. This magnificent anarchy has meant that plays are amongst the most bibliographically complex groups of works printed in this period. In consequence, scholars have faced a huge challenge to reconstruct what was printed, where and when; so much so, indeed, that much detailed and forensic work remains to be undertaken. Examining five collections of imprintless editions of classical Spanish theatre texts (83 items), published around 1630, 1640, 1654, 1680 and 1700, in Seville and Madrid, Cruickshank sets out the nature of the task as a whole. He identifies the difficulties involved in producing an accurate record, but more importantly offers some valuable insights into how many of these issues might ultimately be resolved. As he says, 'the relationship between the playwrights, the actors, the printers and their publics is a complex one, but a complete short-title catalogue will go a long way towards helping us to understand it'.<sup>10</sup>

John O'Neill's chapter addresses the relationship between playwright and printer very directly, and with forensic insight. 'Cervantes's *Ocho comedias: From the Pen to the Print-Shop*' reconstructs the process of how the *Ocho comedias* was produced on the press of Francisca Medina in Madrid in 1615 (USTC 5038935), from the autograph copy to the printed volume. It does so based on what is generally known about book production in early-modern Spain and on the evidence provided by several copies of the first edition. The chapter transports us into the world of the print shop, the numerous tasks that formed part of the process, and the fact that compositors and pressmen worked on several printed works concurrently. This latter point is especially important to understanding the mechanics of production. O'Neill seeks to establish the boundaries and limitations of Cervantes's likely involvement at different stages of the process, in matters such as spelling, punctuation, layout and the proofing of the text. The importance of understanding in full the journey from pen to print is critical, not least because it has very substantial implications for those who edit modern editions of texts, and those who study them.

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10 See Chapter 8.



In the third contribution to this part, Manuel Calderón Calderón explores the impact of regulatory shifts in Castile on the pattern of fiction publication, and in particular printed dramas. The palpable fear and mistrust of authorities when confronted with the power of the printing press drove them to attempt to curb its suspect influences. Regulation was undertaken to promote a 'strong utilitarian concept of knowledge' and in particular to reverse what was perceived to have been a moral decline. Authorities clamped down, therefore, on certain types of fiction. Yet, as Calderón Calderón demonstrates, this regulatory framework was something of a Pyrrhic victory – contributing to a shifting of public taste, but also to the growth of new areas of literature, albeit seemingly more innocuous.

#### Part 4

The final part of the volume looks at a range of market specialisms – chivalric literature, medical publishing, and news. Aurelio Vargas Díaz-Toledo investigates changing patterns of publication in works of chivalry in Portugal in the first half of the seventeenth century. There was an enormous decline in the printing of chivalric texts in this period, with appetites serviced no longer by print but by manuscript. It was not simply the case that this change reflected public temperament, but rather that the internal dynamics of the printing industry had also shifted. This is an important point, and cautions us against taking publication statistics as entirely reflective of contemporary taste. Echoing in part Calderón Calderón's findings, Aurelio Vargas Díaz-Toledo indicates that the regulatory environment certainly played its part; the culture of oversight became far less open to chivalric texts, and licenses were seldom granted. Moreover, publishers were eager to avoid capital outlay on large works such as books of chivalry, turning instead to smaller format books, not least the picaresque and pastoral novels. Multiple forces operated simultaneously.

In Hervé Baudry's chapter on medical publishing in Portugal, he uncovers a market dominated largely by vernacular and practical medical texts, some of which were reprinted many times. Intriguingly, however, the surviving printed record points strongly to a market virtually isolated from prevailing European currents in medical science.

The final two chapters in the volume explore the publication of news. The first, by Henry Ettinghausen, offers a truly breath-taking overview of single-event newsletters. In Spain, the seventeenth century was truly the Golden-Age of the newsletter. However, as elsewhere in Europe, the news – through censorship and self-censorship – reported only what authorities wished to hear. The early-modern public, especially the merchant community, relied on oral

communication, or on manuscript newsletters, for other sorts of information which would have been vital to their interests. In print, the press reported on a dizzying array of subjects, which included battles, peace treaties, conversions, martyrdoms, weddings, sporting events, natural disasters, sensational events such as monstrous births, and far more besides. The final chapter in the volume, by Ricard Expósito Amagat delves even deeper – offering an important case study on how the news was received and consumed in Catalonia. Expósito exploits evidence, especially diary sources, to reconstruct how some readers read news in this period. There are two points that stand out from his analysis. The first is that, very clearly, printed news was not read in isolation. Readers often drew their information from a variety of sources. For instance, the jurist *Jeroni Pujades* (1568–1635) owned a news-sheet printed by Esteve Liberòs in Barcelona on the celebrations organised to welcome the Queen of Hungary into the city in February 1630. He noted in his diary that the news pamphlet failed to mention that the Council would refuse to meet the Queen if she insisted on being accompanied either by the Archbishop of Seville or the Duke of Alba. The other point relates to the issue of critical or acritical reading raised elsewhere in this edited volume. One example mentioned by Expósito is of a reader who is critical in some instances of news he has read, but equally is prepared to accept without question other news stories, including some reports of aerial armies and supernatural apparitions.

The printed book developed with astonishing rapidity in the century or so before Cervantes' great novel emerged from the press. Indeed, within just one, perhaps two generations of its arrival, printed books, pamphlets and broadsheets had become a ubiquitous and spirited part of Spain and Portugal's urban culture. Over the century that followed, producers produced and consumers consumed ever-increasing volumes of print, of varying quality. Print serviced an ever-expanding reading public, as well as many and varied practical quotidian needs. Its impact on society in Spain, Portugal and the New World was, as elsewhere, to be multi-dimensional and complex, and its social reach far broader than the civic or ecclesiastical elites were ever to be entirely comfortable with. The essays contained in this volume shed new light on some of the momentous changes that occurred in the book market in the first half of the seventeenth century, with authors and publishers seizing opportunities available to them – negotiating the regulatory efforts of the censors, and scrambling to reconfigure their relationship with their readers. Certainly, there was anxiety – a longing for a simpler time set against an all too complex present. This anxiety, personified so powerfully in *Don Quijote*, is evident in several of the essays presented here. Yet, above all, there was opportunity, and the book market responded and adapted to the evolving environment.

**PART 1**

***Surveys of the Book Trade***





# A Maturing Market: The Iberian Book World in the First Half of the Seventeenth Century

Alexander S. Wilkinson

There are limits to how much we will ever know about early-modern publishing. We have lost more early printed items than have survived. What has been preserved in research libraries and in private collections almost certainly distorts, perhaps significantly in some aspects, our impression of what was once printed, bought, read and heard.<sup>1</sup> Yet, reconstructing and interrogating the surviving printed record can reveal a huge amount and offer a good, if incomplete sense of the contours and the dynamics of the world of the book. In this respect, *Iberian Books*, a project established at University College Dublin in 2006, is beginning to transform our capacity to understand and contextualise the Golden Age Iberian book trade. Before its appearance, scholars were confronted with a diversity of fragmented sources, such as individual library catalogues, collective catalogues covering specific regions, and analytical bibliographies of some, but not all, Iberian printing centres. *Iberian Books* has woven together these separate strands of information and offers a listing of what has survived, or known to have once existed. Much detailed bibliographical work remains to be undertaken – probably over generations – to refine entries, incorporate some collections missed or only partially captured, and to exorcise bibliographical ghosts. However, we do now have at our disposal a robust platform, or at least a far more robust platform than we have ever had, from which to attempt an overall survey of Iberian print. The purpose of this introductory chapter is to present the information accumulated by *Iberian Books*, and to offer an overview of the scale, geography and character of Iberian publishing in the first half of the seventeenth century.

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1 For a discussion of survival rates, albeit in a French context, see Alexander S. Wilkinson, 'Lost Books Printed in French before 1601', *The Library*, 10/2 (2009), pp. 188–205; for ephemera in a Spanish context, see Alexander S. Wilkinson, 'Cheap Vernacular Print in Spain before 1601: Some General Trends and International Comparisons', *Bulletin of Spanish Studies*, 90 4/5 (2013), pp. 871–893.

## Chronological Distribution

Figure 1.1 provides an overview of items printed in each decade from the 1470s up to the 1640s. It demonstrates the steady increase in production that took place over the course of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. What is perhaps most extraordinary, however, is the dramatic jump in output from the 1600s. It would appear that there was a doubling of the number of works printed between the final decade of the sixteenth century and the first decade of the seventeenth, with an even more staggering 221 per cent increase between the 1590s and 1640s. Overall, we can see real growth over the 1600s through to the 1620s, then modest contraction in the 1630s, followed by growth once again in the 1640s.

Figure 1.2 affords us the opportunity to look at the number of items printed on a year to year basis. From this, we can see that growth in the first two decades of the century appears relatively smooth, with only a few minor bumps. This situation changes from 1626, when steady and even growth seems to have been arrested. From 1626 to 1637, we see periods of contraction and stabilization. From 1638 to 1642, there appears to have been a very substantial increase in the output of the Iberian presses. This coincided with a series of major news events in these years, which were reported widely in numerous pamphlets – including the successful Spanish relief of Fuenterrabía in September 1638.

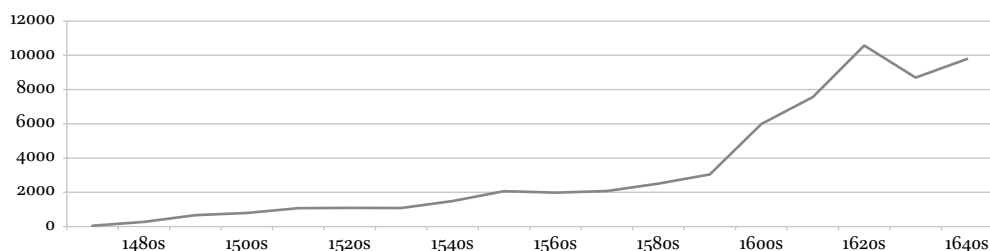


FIGURE 1.1 Overview of items produced by decade, 1470s–1640s.



FIGURE 1.2 Chronological overview of Iberian book production, 1601–1650.

From 1643, there was a significant contraction in production (a 23 per cent decrease compared with 1642). Thereafter, production levels seem to have remained relatively stable up to the middle of the century. The very notable peaks, in 1601 and 1650, are in large measure illusory. They are the consequence of common library practice in relation to attributed dates. For instance, where there is no obvious date on a title page of a work – which occurs most often on very short ephemeral publications – librarians and indeed other bibliographers often estimate the year of publication in broad ranges, for instance, 1601–1610, or 1650–1655. These appear in the statistics under the first date.

So far, our analysis has been predicated on the fact that counting the number of recorded items printed in any given year or decade can offer a reasonably reliable indicator of production levels. The obvious problem with this assumption, however, is that counting the number of books fails to differentiate properly between very large folio items which could take many months to produce, or pamphlets or broadsheets which could be printed with great rapidity, often in under a day. We might, therefore, look towards another yardstick to assess the productive capacity of the Iberian presses, and that is the number of sheets used to produce each item. The calculations involved in generating these figures are relatively straightforward, if time consuming. First, we created a clean series of numbers. Items where pagination or foliation was incorrect and inferred values were present were resolved, for instance ff. 19 [=20] became ff. 20. Roman numerals were converted into arabic notation. The combined value of all folios or pages for each item was then calculated. For items which were paginated rather than foliated, the total was divided by two. The folio count was then divided by the format of the book. So a quarto pamphlet with pagination of xii [4] would equate to two sheets. That is 16 pages divided by two to calculate the folio value (=8), divided by 4 (quarto), equals two sheets.

There are inherent problems implicit in this method of analysis. Firstly, we do not know the size of the print run for each item. It simply cannot be the case that each work was printed in precisely the same number of copies. Secondly, using the information generated for the project, we were able to generate sheet information for only around 70 per cent of items listed in *Iberian Books* – those items with both pagination and format information. These problems are very real. Yet, calculating sheet values can certainly offer a helpful and thought-provoking means by which to look at the Iberian printing industry, especially when examined in conjunction with other measures.

Figure 1.3 offers the fruits of these calculations, providing an analysis of the number of full sheets used in the printing of Iberian books between the 1590s and the 1640s. As we have seen above, if we gauge productivity in terms of the number of items printed, Iberian production increased by 221 per cent between

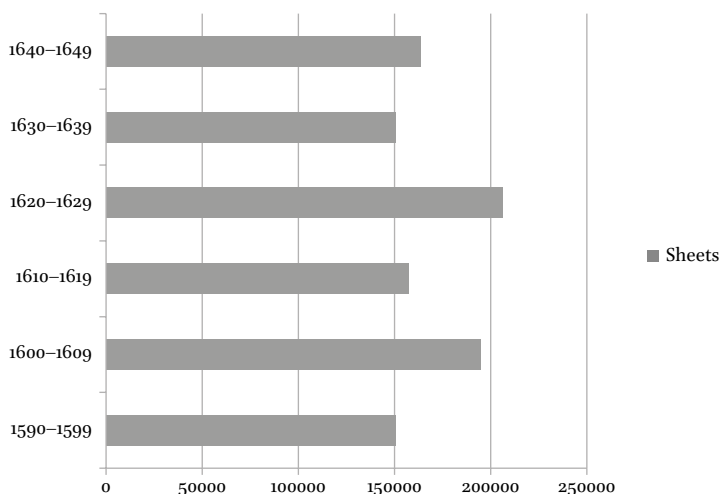


FIGURE 1.3 *Production as measured by sheets, 1590s to 1640s.*<sup>2</sup>

the 1590s and 1640s. However, if quantified in terms of sheets, production rose by only 8.6 per cent in the same period, with two particularly fecund decades, the 1600s and 1620s. This lower figure seems more plausible. The reason for the disparity in the two methods of measurement is straightforward. More items were rolling off the Spanish and Portuguese presses, but many of them were very short.

Figure 1.4 allows us to look at this in more detail. It presents the percentage of very short works in comparison to larger works published between the 1590s and the 1640s. For our purposes, we can define shorter works, ephemera, as those printed on no more than two sheets. This category of print accounts for a growing proportion of works in this period, representing some 21 per cent of recorded items in the 1590s, 26 per cent of items in the 1600s, 30 per cent of items in the 1610s, 38 per cent in the 1620s, 35 per cent in the 1630s and 39 per cent in the 1640s.

This expansion in Iberian print production, albeit probably closer to 9 per cent than 221 per cent, took place against the backdrop of very considerable demographic and economic crises. Indeed, in many respects, it is really quite remarkable that there was any growth at all. Demographic vitality was hit by major plagues between 1596 and 1602, and 1647 and 1650, by emigration to the New World, and by the expulsion of the Moriscos from 1609–1614 under

<sup>2</sup> For 70 per cent of items.



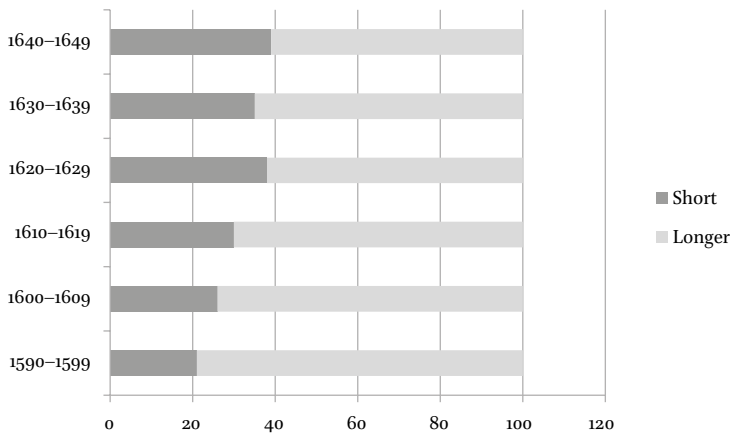


FIGURE 1.4 *Percentage of short and larger works published by decade, 1590s to 1640s.*

Philip III. Some areas were hit harder than others – the population of Seville is estimated to have declined by as much as a half between 1600 and 1650.<sup>3</sup> While Portugal's population probably experienced a modest increase in the first half of the seventeenth century, in Spain the population level is thought to have decreased, perhaps by around 10 per cent, with more pronounced reductions occurring in urban areas.<sup>4</sup> The economic travails of the Spanish crown were also not insignificant. There were increasing tax burdens largely as a result of sustained foreign conflict. Per capita income, which had been one of the highest in Europe in the sixteenth century – behind Italy and the Netherlands – declined and certainly did not keep pace with inflation.<sup>5</sup>

### Structure of the Industry

How was printing organized in the Peninsula? Here is what we can tell. Firstly, works without any stated or attributed place of publication represent a vast category. Such works account for around 6 per cent of all items printed in the 1590s, but some 28 per cent of items for the first half of the seventeenth

3 Patrick O' Flannagan, *Port Cities of Atlantic Iberia, c. 1500-1900* (Aldershot & Burlington: Ashgate, 2013), p. 72.

4 Some estimates put the decrease in the urban population as high as 19 per cent, see Jan de Vries, *European Urbanization 1500-1800* (London: Methuen, 1984), pp. 39-40.

5 See Carlos Álvarez-Nogal and Leandro Prados de la Escosura, 'The decline of Spain (1500-1850): conjunctural estimates', *European Review of Economic History*, 11/3 (2007), pp. 321-322.

TABLE 1.1 *Major printing centres, 1601–1650.*<sup>6</sup>

	No. of Items	% of items	% of sheets
Madrid	8111	25	28
Barcelona	4396	14	13
Lisbon	3037	9	9
Seville	2579	8	4
Valencia	1680	5	4
Zaragoza	1508	5	6
Granada	1507	5	2
Valladolid	971	3	6
Mexico City	947	3	1
Salamanca	724	2	5
Alcalá de Henares	661	2	4
Lima (Ciudad de los Reyes)	609	2	1

century. Where these items were actually published could have a substantial impact on our understanding of the geography of print.

Table 1.1 provides a summary of the major printing centres in this period. Madrid began out-producing its rivals from 1590. It maintained its pre-eminence over the course of the first half of the seventeenth century, printing around 25 per cent of all items, or 28 per cent if measured by sheets. Madrid produced around 35 per cent of all production in Spain itself. However, printing in the first half of the seventeenth century in Spain followed a similar structural pattern to the sixteenth century, that is to say that there were a high number of presses operating across the country. Barcelona's output was approximately half that of Madrid. However, there were a further seven centres of real significance, including Seville, Valencia, Zaragoza, Granada, Valladolid, Salamanca and Alcalá de Henares. In comparison with the final two decades of the sixteenth century, what is noteworthy is the decline in relative importance of Salamanca, Valencia and Burgos, and the rise in importance of both Barcelona (especially up to 1630) and Granada.<sup>7</sup>

6 The percentage calculations exclude 28 per cent of items in *Iberian Books* where there is no stated or attributed place of printing.

7 Granada produced only around 280 items between 1472 and 1600, but 1507 in the first half of the seventeenth century, though most of these were relatively small items. For an introduction to printing in the city, see María José López-Huertas Pérez, 'La consolidación de la

In Portugal, production was concentrated in Lisbon. There was more limited output in Coimbra, and Évora, together with a small smattering of printing in Braga and Porto. In the New World, the importance of México City, Puebla and Lima are clear, with some production also in Manila. There were other areas under the Spanish Habsburg orbit that produced works in Spanish. In the Spanish Netherlands, Brussels produced around 297 items, and Antwerp 204. In Naples, 170 items were printed, and in Milan 106. Outside of these areas, a number of centres produced works in Spanish or Portuguese, not least Paris, which printed 180 items, Amsterdam, which printed 122 items, and Rome which printed 164.

If we combine the totals, either of items or sheets in Table 1.1 above, we reach 83 per cent. This leaves 17 per cent of production which did not take place in any of the major centres. In fact, *Iberian Books* has logged some 270 places of publishing for the first half of the seventeenth century. 50 of these locations printed more than 40 items.

In his 2003 article on the geography of incunables, Philippe Nieto surveyed the data available from the *Incunabula Short Title Catalogue*.<sup>8</sup> One of the principal arguments made was that the European printing industry in the fifteenth century expanded structurally beyond what the market could support. Fleet-ing presses were established in monasteries, and small towns – very much becoming a matter of civic or ecclesiastical pride. This model was unsustainable, and so the industry contracted, and became rationalised in the major centres of population, education and government. Nieto's article, and his accompanying maps, seemed to demonstrate this pattern very persuasively – especially maps number nine and ten which, respectively, plotted areas where there was at least one printer between 1452 and 1501 and areas where printers were active in 1500. Map nine resembled an outbreak of measles, while map ten showed a much reduced number of dots placed over Europe's principal urban centres.

For Spain at least, it now seems that Nieto's model of contraction and rationalisation was part of a cycle rather than the conclusion of any process. Indeed the number of locations where printers were trying to turn a profit grew over the course of the fifteenth, sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.<sup>9</sup> There were

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imprenta en el siglo XVII', in Cristina Peregrín Pardo (ed.), *La imprenta en Granada* (Granada: Universidad de Granada, 1997), pp. 73–104.

8 Philippe Nieto, 'Géographie des impressions européennes du XVe siècle', *Revue française d'histoire du livre*, 118–121 (2003), pp. 125–173.

9 A useful visualization of this can be found at <http://iberian.ucd.ie/places/> accessed 2 January 2016.

areas where printing stopped almost as quickly as it began, but others where printers were in operation for fairly sustained periods.

The increasing number of places of publication, bearing in mind the costs of establishing and running a press, and set against a market that was experiencing limited growth, points to an intensely competitive environment. Much investigation is still required, but from current information in *Iberian Books*, there was somewhere between 1,500 and 1,800 printers and publishers active in the first half of the seventeenth century, in Spain, Portugal and the New World or involved in printing Spanish or Portuguese works elsewhere. Given the economics of competitive markets, this may well have been good news for consumers; competition tends to keep prices down, while a large number of dispersed presses is likely to have been more responsive to market demand.

### Language of Publication

Let us move on to what *Iberian Books* can tell us about the language of publication in this period. One of the most important changes that can be seen is the declining percentage of works in Latin, from 18 per cent in the 1600s to 13 per cent by the 1640s. If Madrid produced around 23 per cent of all works in *Iberian Books*, it only had a 13 per cent market share of Latin print. Barcelona produced 14 per cent of all Latin print published in the Iberian Peninsula, 23 per cent of its total output. Latin publishing, however, remained very dispersed, with around 100 places of printing. A 5 per cent decline is significant. Nonetheless, it rather hides the fact that production in Latin seems to have shifted away from larger works. Adjusted for different proportions of items for which sheet information is known for the 1590s and 1640s, it would appear that Latin publishing declined by almost two fifths. It would be useful to know the extent to which the Spanish experience was distinctive in European terms, but this analysis is not possible at the moment. It does seem, however, that the relatively low level of Latin, and its declining significance to the industry, is indicative of a pronounced shift towards the vernacular domestic market. Almost without exception, Spain and Portugal's printers were not attempting to compete for the attention of readers across Europe.

Other useful observations can be made about the language of publication in this period, which remind us of the linguistic diversity in the Iberian Peninsula and of overlapping cultural identities. Catalán-language publication in Barcelona leapt from 11 per cent of production in the 1620s to 16 per cent in the 1630s

and 35 per cent during the Guerra dels Segadors in the 1640s. About 28 per cent of all vernacular production in Lisbon was in Castilian until just before the Restoration in 1640 when it fell to 13 per cent.

### General Publication Trends

To look at general trends in publishing, all items in *Iberian Books* were allocated a rudimentary subject classification. Perhaps what was most striking about this classification work was to see such a broad range of genres produced on the Iberian presses throughout the period, including medical texts, educational books, texts on economics, philosophy and morality, dialectics and rhetoric, linguistics and philology, science and mathematics, dictionaries, funeral orations, heraldic works, discourses on government and political theory, calendars and almanacs, travel literature, military handbooks, aphorisms, astrology, books on agriculture, art and architecture. Nevertheless, the most significant categories of print in terms of volume of material published were legal texts (including edicts and ordonnances), religious and devotional texts, news books, literature, including printed plays, and histories. Table 1.2 provides an overview of these major genres over the first half of the seventeenth century as a proportion of the total number of items produced.

There is a very significant change between the last two decades of the sixteenth century and the first decade of the seventeenth in terms of a decline in the relative proportion of religious works. In the 1580s and 1590s, religious works represented 46 per cent of the number of items produced. As we can see in Table 1.2, by the 1600s, this had fallen to 29 per cent and by the 1640s to

TABLE 1.2 *Classification of items in Iberian Books, 1601–1650.*

	1601–1609	1610s	1620s	1630s	1640s
Legal Literature	35%	31%	31%	37%	33%
Religious	29	32	27	24	24
News	5	9	15	12	15
Histories	3	3	3	3	5
Literature	7	6	6	6	4
Others	21	19	18	18	19

just under a quarter. Even if we were to analyse production in terms of sheets used for each work rather than simply the number of items published, we can still see a very sharp decline in the importance of religious literature. In the 1590s, religious and devotional literature accounted for some 58 per cent of printed sheets. Although still substantial, by the 1640s, this figure had declined to 45 per cent. The category embraces works ranging from indulgences and short devotional poems to far more weighty tomes. The most popular author of works on religion in the period was the Jesuit Juan Eusebio Nieremberg (1595–1658) who has no fewer than 132 items listed in *Iberian Books*. Of these, the most important measured by the number of editions published were his *De la diferencia entre lo temporal y eterno*, *Curiosa filosofía y tesoro de maravillas de la naturaleza examinadas en varias questiones naturales*, and *Aprecio y estima de la divina gracia*. Other major figures included the Augustinian Pedro de Valderrama (1550–1611) and the Carmelite mystic Santa Teresa de Jesús (1515–1582). Amongst the most published works of devotion was Tomas a Kempis' *Contemptus Mundi* otherwise known as the *Imitation of Christ* which went through 39 editions in 14 different centres of print: Alcalá de Henares, Antwerp, Barcelona, Huesca, Lérida, Lisbon, Madrid, Milan, Pamplona, Sassari, Seville, Toledo, Valencia and Valladolid.

Table 1.2 also reveals the importance of Spanish legal publishing in this period. In fact, the printing of legal texts, including jurisprudence, edicts, ordinances, and submissions in law suits, increased very dramatically in the first decade of the seventeenth century, and came to account for around a third of all items published between 1601 and 1650. During the 1590s, legal print accounted for just 16 per cent of all items published. This remarkable rise was not the result of any huge increase in the number of laws being issued and publicised; they comprise only around 25 per cent of this category. What was most remarkable was the development of the *alegaciones en derecho*, often relatively short accounts of legal agreements or submissions to legal proceedings. There are around 9,778 such items logged for the first half of the seventeenth century, a number unusual if not unique in European terms. It is difficult currently to determine the precise geography of these *alegaciones*, for it was not common for publication information to be recorded on the texts. 6,298 (64 per cent) of the *alegaciones* are without any imprint. There were certain cities where it was more common to record place of publication information. Granada, for instance, is mentioned as the publishing location on 10 per cent of *alegaciones*, Barcelona on 9 per cent, Madrid on 7 per cent, Valencia on 3 per cent and Zaragoza on 3 per cent. What is clear is that these legal texts seem to have quickly become part of the routine quotidian processes of Spain's legal system. The *alegaciones* offer an enormously valuable window into the social history

of Golden-Age Spain, though do not yet appear to have been the subject of systematic investigation.

We can also see in Table 1.2, that literature, including printed drama, declined as a proportion of total production, from 7 per cent in the 1600s to just 4 per cent by the 1640s. In fact, literature had represented 12 per cent of publishing in the 1590s. These statistics offer a misleading impression of what was going on. When we look at literature as a proportion of printed sheets, we find that it represents around 3 per cent of production in the 1590s and 4 per cent of production in the 1640s. In other words, relatively speaking, fewer literary works were emerging from the presses as a proportion of publishing, but they were becoming longer. Foremost in the literature category, and unprecedented for an early-modern European dramatist, was the figure of Félix Lope de Vega, (1562–1635). The demand for his works, not least printed versions of his plays, seemed for a time insatiable. Lope can boast no fewer than 395 entries in *Iberian Books*.<sup>10</sup> Other towering figures include the poet Francisco de Quevedo (1580–1645), Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra (1547–1616), responsible amongst other things for *El Quijote*, one of the greatest works of European literature written in the last half millennium, and the poet and dramatist Juan Pérez de Montalbán (1602–1638).<sup>11</sup>

There was a very pronounced expansion in the printing and distribution of news in this period. Not only did the number of news pamphlets grow, but we also begin to see the development of something different – seriality and periodicity. It was in this period that we see the birth of the first identifiable newspapers. Overall, news as a genre represented around 5 per cent of items in the first decade of the seventeenth century. This rose to 15 per cent by the 1640s. This expansion is mapped in Figure 1.5, which offers a chronological overview of news publication. In terms of overall production, the figures were far more modest, of course, with news accounting for just 1 per cent of production in the 1600s, and around 3 per cent of production four decades later.

10 Maria Grazia Profeti has produced an incredibly impressive bibliography of his non-dramatic works (Maria Grazia Profeti, *Per una bibliografia di Lope de Vega. Opere non drammatiche a stampa* (Kassel, Reichenberger, 2002)); while his dramatic works have been studied in Maria Grazia Profeti, *La collezione «Diferentes Autores»* (Kassel: Reichenberger, 1988).

11 On Pérez de Montalbán, see Maria Grazia Profeti, *Per una bibliografia di J. Pérez de Montalbán* (Verona: Università degli Studi di Padova, 1976); *Per una bibliografia di J. Pérez de Montalbán: addenda et corrigenda* (Verona: Università degli Studi di Verona, 1982) and Germán Vega García-Luengos, *Para una bibliografía de J. Pérez de Montalbán. Nuevas adiciones* (Verona: Università degli Studi di Verona, Facoltà di Lingue e Letterature Straniere, Istituto di Lingua e Letteratura Spagnola, 1993).

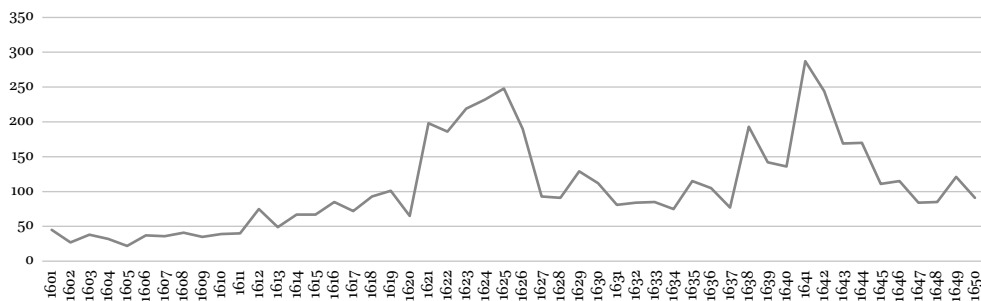


FIGURE 1.5 *News publications, 1601–1650.*

Nonetheless, its proliferation and expanding presence in the marketplace is startling.<sup>12</sup> It is clear that there were two great news moments, from 1621 to 1626 and 1638 to 1644. These news books reported on a range of events, especially reports of royal celebrations and other festivities linked to the court, but there were also news pamphlets purporting to describe monstrous births and natural disasters. There were accounts of the visit of the Prince of Wales to Madrid in 1623, and to the opening stages of the Thirty Years' War. As for the peak in the first half of the 1640s, this largely reflects unfolding events in Catalonia and in Portugal and their revolt against Castile. The evolution of the *relaciones de sucesos* in particular have not been widely studied, though they are the subject of an ongoing research project based at the Universidade da Coruña, which is not only doing excellent work in offering bibliographical descriptions of these items, but also in cultivating networks of scholars to analyse them.<sup>13</sup>

Although still in its infancy, *Iberian Books* represents the most complete survey of printing in Spain, Portugal and the New World available. By surveying the information collected by the project, it is possible to better understand the dynamics of publishing on the Peninsula in ways unimaginable even a few years ago. We have seen how the number of items printed grew very substantially over the course of the first half of the seventeenth century, a 221 per increase between the 1590s and 1640s. However, by using sheet information, albeit tentatively, we have been able to offer a second, perhaps

12 See Henry Ettinghausen, *How the Press Began. The Pre-Periodical Printed News in Early Modern Europe* (A Coruña: Universidade da Coruña, 2005) available online at <http://www.janusdigital.es/>. See also the two excellent chapters in the present volume by Ettinghausen and Exposito. On the broader development of news in Europe in this period, see Andrew Pettegree, *The Invention of News. How the World Came to Know about Itself* (London: Yale University Press, 2014).

13 <http://www.bidiso.es/estaticas/ver.htm?id=7> accessed 5 March 2015.



more nuanced understanding, of patterns of change. In fact, while the number of books rose quite dramatically, actual production levels rose far more modestly, by around 8.6 per cent. Analysis by the number of items produced gives a sense of visibility in the marketplace, whereas analysis by sheets offers a greater sense of where printers were investing their energies. Still, given the background of population decline and economic crises, even an 8.6 per cent rise is quite remarkable, and demonstrates the step up in demand for print in this period.

We have seen that the dispersed model of printing established in the fifteenth century continued, with publishing taking place in around 270 places in Spain, Portugal, and beyond. The importance of Madrid had been established during the 1590s, and this continued. It was responsible for around a quarter of all publishing. However, there was more change elsewhere, with the decline in importance of Salamanca, Valencia and Burgos, and the rise in importance of both Barcelona and Granada. In terms of the language in which books were written, what is extraordinary is the transformation in Latin publishing. It was not just that the number of books printed in Latin declined, but also that the type and size of those books also changed. Clearly, the Iberian printing industry was becoming increasingly focused in this period on its domestic markets.

In terms of the marketplace for print more generally, some very notable transformations occurred. Although still by far the largest single category, the importance of religious works to the printing industry diminished. In contrast, there was a truly enormous increase in the use of print for routine legal purposes, a development that was probably unparalleled in Europe. This period also saw the development of a much larger news industry, and one which assumed a far more visible status than at any point before.

## Printing in Antwerp in the Early Seventeenth Century and Its Connections with the Iberian World

*César Manrique Figueroa*

The Fall of Antwerp in 1585 ended the short-lived ‘anti-Spanish’ Protestant regime loyal to William of Orange. After the decisive victory of the Spanish armies which returned the Southern Netherlands to Habsburg rule, the governor-general Alexander Farnese, duke of Parma sought, amongst other things, to promote the resumption of political and economic activities in the reconquered city. He granted a three-year period of reconciliation, after which the Protestants who wanted to stay permanently were required to be reconciled with the Catholic Church.<sup>1</sup> Yet, the massive exodus of Protestant merchants and other artisans to the Northern Provinces had left Antwerp with only half its original population and in an economically deplorable state. This migration, at Antwerp’s expense, contributed to the prosperity of the Dutch Republic and its Golden Age.<sup>2</sup>

Despite an economic decline, and contrary to expectations, Antwerp experienced a period of recovery from the turn of the sixteenth century until about 1640, turning calamity into opportunity. It was the so-called ‘Indian Summer of Antwerp’s prosperity’, in which trade and the arts thrived.<sup>3</sup> These years were characterized by a relatively rapid expansion of commercial activities – even when faced with external interference, such as the blockade of the Scheldt by the United Provinces. The international landscape also encouraged the Antwerp revival, not least the signing of the Twelve Years’ Truce in 1609 between Spain and the Dutch Republic.

- 1 Violet Soen, ‘Reconquista and Reconciliation in the Dutch Revolt: The Campaign of Governor-General Alexander Farnese (1578–1592)’, *Journal of Early Modern History*, 16 (2012), pp. 10–14.
- 2 The congregation of Antwerp’s merchants in Amsterdam created a ‘wondrous synergy that not only enabled Amsterdam to succeed Antwerp as the centre of international trade but also lifted that trade on to a higher plane’. Maarten Prak, *The Dutch Republic in the Seventeenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), p. 96.
- 3 The Antwerp’s Indian summer concept was coined by Baetens in 1976, see Roland Baetens, *De nazomer van Antwerpens welvaart: de diaspora en het handelshuis De Groote tijdens de eerste helft der 17de eeuw* (Brussels: Geementekrediet van België, 1976).

The printing presses of the Southern Netherlands underwent the same process of confessionalisation seen elsewhere in the region. In this period, all books published in cities like Antwerp, Leuven or Brussels tended to conform fully to the conventions of the Catholic Reformation.<sup>4</sup> After all, the printers who had remained in the city were Catholics, so it should come as little surprise that they marketed their wares at Catholic markets. The Protestant printers meanwhile had moved out of the city, and settled principally in the Northern Provinces.<sup>5</sup>

The steady growth experienced by the Antwerp printing industry during the first quarter of the seventeenth century can be explained largely by an increased production which targeted Catholic markets. This was certainly the case not only for the *Officina Plantiniana* under the aegis of Jan I Moretus and his sons and heirs, Jan II and Balthazar I Moretus, but also for other Antwerp printing families and their shops, like those of Petrus I Bellerus, Jan Van Keerberghen, and Martinus II Nutius. Put differently, despite the apparent supremacy of the Moretus family, the early decades of the seventeenth century were characterized by the diversification of printers who were not only focused on publishing local editions for domestic consumption, but also on producing titles which could reach international markets. Publishers were increasingly able to develop direct commercial circuits of book distribution with the Iberian market, creating networks of reliable contacts with cities such as Seville and Madrid. Finally, even after the Peace of Munster of 1648 which supposedly ushered in a decline in the economy of the Southern Netherlands, the international book trade – oriented towards the Hispanic World – continued to thrive throughout the century.<sup>6</sup>

4 Prior to 1585, severe measures to control the printing press in the Southern Netherlands had been proposed by the duke of Alva in 1569. Alva suggested that the number of printers should be reduced to a few shops which were only to be established in important and well-known cities, such as Antwerp, Leuven or Douai. These should operate under the rule of masters approved by the bishops, clearly attempting to impose a system of ecclesiastical control upon the local printing press. See 'Letter of the Duke of Alva about the printing press in Flanders, dated 31 October 1569', published in Fermín de los Reyes, *El Libro en España y América. Legislación y censura (siglos XV–XVIII)* (Madrid: Arco/Libros, 2000), vol. 11, p. 1260.

5 Examples abound from then on. According to Werner Thomas, 30 out of 50 Flemish printers had established themselves in Protestant areas between 1560 and 1600, 'Los impresores de los Países Bajos Meridionales en España e Hispanoamérica', in Werner Thomas and Eddy Stols (eds.) *Un mundo sobre papel. Libros y grabados flamencos en el imperio Hispanoportugués (siglos XVI–XVIII)* (Leuven: ACCO, 2009), p. 156.

6 During the second half of the century, the book trade with the Iberian World continued to show vitality and expansion, given the activities displayed by different Antwerp shops like those of the Moretuses, the Verdussen and the Van Meurs, or of the family Foppens of Brussels. See César Manrique, *Cultural trade between the Southern Netherlands and New Spain*. (University of Leuven, Department of History, unpublished doctoral thesis, 2012), p. 142.

This chapter seeks to explore and explain the vitality of the seventeenth-century Antwerp printing press and its connections with the Iberian World. The first section provides an overview of Antwerp as the leading centre of book production and international distribution in the Southern Netherlands. The second traces the strategies of two of the most important print shops in the city and the way in which they circulated their wares within the Iberian world. The third section attempts to trace some of the principal routes used by Antwerp publishers to dispatch their books to Spain after 1585. The fourth reflects on the positive reputation of the Antwerp printing presses amongst Spanish authors, and of their enthusiasm to publish their works abroad.

As Andrew Pettegree has remarked in his proposed models of national print cultures, the Southern Netherlands conform to the 'partially dispersed model' which has one predominant centre of print -Antwerp- but also other significant printing centres.<sup>7</sup> In this case, the production of these other cities was linked directly to their main economic or political activities, such as the academic life of well-known learning centres like Leuven and Douai; or the activity of the governing bodies established in Brussels.<sup>8</sup> In fact, Brussels was a printing centre of some significance for the Hispanic world (given the titles in Spanish printed there), thanks to the activity of Rutger Velpius and Jan I Mommaert, who worked under the auspices of the archdukes Albert and Isabella.<sup>9</sup>

In terms of international book exportation, however, Antwerp was entirely dominant in the region. After all, sixteenth-century Antwerp became a world centre of distribution for an extended range of products, and expensive luxuries. It was also the nucleus of a multi-branched European network

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Regarding the Verdussen family see Stijn Van Rossem, 'The Verdussen and the International Trade in Catholic Books (Antwerp, Seventeenth Century)' in Natalia Maillard (ed.), *Books in the Catholic World during the Early Modern Period* (Leiden: Brill, 2013), pp. 1–50.

- 7 France, Italy and the Swiss Confederation all conform to this partially dispersed model, in contrast with the fully dispersed model. Andrew Pettegree, 'The Reformation and the Book: A reconsideration', *The Historical Journal*, 47-4 (2004), p. 794.
- 8 Although from 1531 Brussels became the centre of political power in the Low Countries, and one of the most important urban centres in the Duchy of Brabant, the city only attracted a limited number of printers and booksellers, namely about 20 during the sixteenth century, see Edmond Roobaert, 'De zestiende-eeuwse Brussels boekhandelaars en hun klanten bij de Brusselse clerus', in André Tourneaux (ed.), *Liber Amicorum Raphaël de Smedt. IV: Litterarum Historia* (Leuven: Peeters, 2001), p. 68.
- 9 César Manrique, 'Los impresores bruselenses y su producción dirigida al mercado hispano, siglos XVI–XVII. El caso de la imprenta del Águila de Oro de Rutger Velpius, Hubert-Anthoine Velpius y la imprenta de los Mommaert', *Erebea. Revista de humanidades y Ciencias Sociales*, 2 (2012), pp. 205–226.

of native and foreign merchants.<sup>10</sup> This decisive advantage meant that the city was the natural location for the production of important, voluminous and illustrated books. In fact, Antwerp was the perfect place to start a fruitful printing shop of international scale, given the movement of capital, the availability of materials, the abundance of craftspeople and the easy access to the market. As Waterschoot has observed, three distinctive features can be seen in the output of the Antwerp printing houses prior to 1585: diversification, topicality and mass production.<sup>11</sup> By the turn of the seventeenth century, the growing demand for commodities and printing material prompted a boom in Antwerp's workshops, which produced an array of products on a mass scale – not least, paintings and books for national and international markets alike.<sup>12</sup>

Consumer demand for editions published in Antwerp either in Latin or in vernacular languages like Spanish was strong, both within the Southern Netherlands and in neighbouring territories. Take, for instance, Bernardino de Mendoza's military treatise, *Theoria y practica de Guerra* (Antwerp: Jan I Moretus, 1596) (USTC 440169). Between 3 July 1596 and the end of December 1597, 660 copies had been sold – 228 in the Southern Netherlands, 28 in the Northern Netherlands, 120 in France, 88 in England and 156 in Germany.<sup>13</sup> This distribution pattern is also seen in the shipment sent by Jan I Moretus of 216 copies of the devotional text *Contemplación del crucifijo* by Andrés de Soto (Antwerp: Jan I Moretus, 1601). 46 copies were reserved to the author himself (who was confessor to Isabella Clara Eugenia), 36 to the archdukes, 40 to Rutger Velpius in Brussels and, remarkably, 100 were sent to the fairs at Frankfurt.<sup>14</sup> These numbers suggest the importance of the neighbouring European

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- 10 Herman Van der Wee, Jan Materné, 'Antwerp as a World Market in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries', in Jan Van der Stock (ed.), *Antwerp story of a Metropolis, 16th–17th century* (Antwerp: Snoeck-Ducaju, 1993), p. 25.
  - 11 Werner Waterschoot, 'Antwerp: books, publishing and cultural production before 1585', in Patrick O'Brien (ed.), *Urban Achievement in Early Modern Europe. Golden Ages in Antwerp, Amsterdam and London* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), pp. 234–235.
  - 12 Several works focus on the blooming artistic trade and its various aspects which was established between the Southern Netherlands and the Iberian World, for instance Neil De Marchi and Hans Van Miegroet (eds.), *Mapping Markets for Paintings in Europe, 1450–1750* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2006).
  - 13 Dirk Imhof, 'Las ediciones españolas de la Officina Plantiniana. Su comercialización en España y América Latina en los siglos XVII y XVIII', in Werner Thomas and Eddy Stols (eds.) *Un mundo sobre papel. Libros y grabados flamencos en el imperio Hispanoportugués (siglos XVI–XVIII)* (Leuven: ACCO, 2009), p. 65.
  - 14 Imhof, 'Las ediciones españolas de la Officina Plantiniana', p. 66.

markets in the distribution of vernacular editions published on the Antwerp presses during this period.

The growing Iberian market was also in the sights of the entrepreneurial Antwerp publishers – not only texts in Latin but also Spanish-language editions. These were marketed both to the Spanish speaking communities in the Netherlands, but also to the Iberian Peninsula.<sup>15</sup> Two major factors encouraged the distribution of Antwerp books within Spain from the 1530s – relatively unsophisticated Spanish typography, as well as the better knowledge of international markets displayed by non-Spanish publishers. After all, one of the most distinctive features of the Antwerp publishers was their acute market awareness, and ability to reprint with impressive rapidity those books that sold best.<sup>16</sup>

It was significant that sixteenth-century printers in Antwerp took advantage of their relatively low production costs and their long-established trade links with Spain, to make successful inroads into the Spanish market, particularly in a city like Seville, because of its character as a major port of entry of international products.<sup>17</sup> By the beginning of the seventeenth century, during the ‘Indian Summer of Antwerp’s prosperity’, Antwerp printers looked to Iberian markets with renewed energy. Political, dynastic, and economic contacts re-established with the Hispanic World after 1585 fully restarted intellectual, cultural and artistic exchanges between the two regions.

### Working with a Flemish Bookseller in Madrid, the Case of Juan Hasrey and His Connections with Antwerp Printers

During the *Ancien Régime*, there were two main options to transport and then sell books from Antwerp (or elsewhere) within the Iberian Peninsula

15 From the 1530s–1540s, two major Antwerp publishers Joannes Steelsius and Martinus Nutius devoted considerable attention to the Spanish market by issuing re-editions which ensured a steady and guaranteed income, clearly developing an editorial Spanish line intended for export. Their wide range of Spanish titles comprised devotional and liturgical works as well as Biblical translations, moral and vernacular literature, prose fiction, secular poetry, history and lexicographical works, see César Manrique, *Cultural trade between the Southern Netherlands and New Spain*, p. 142. See also Pedro R. León, ‘Brief notes on some 16th century Antwerp printers with special reference to Jean Steelsius and his Hispanic bibliography’, *De Gulden Passer*, 54 (1976), p. 78.

16 Waterschoot, ‘Antwerp: books publishing and cultural production before 1585’, p. 240.

17 Clive Griffin, *The Crombergers of Seville. The History of a Printing and Merchant Dynasty* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1988), p. 13.

or its associated territories. The first was to rely on a bookseller or a merchant – preferably Flemish – already active there, and to develop some form of commercial relationship. This involved sending bales of books at regular intervals to be sold by the booksellers in Spain, or to be delivered by merchants to specific clients. The second option was for the publishers to employ agents in Spanish cities to retail the books dispatched. Such agents received a wage, with few additional benefits, while the booksellers and merchants were independent and had the choice to accept or decline collaborations.

In commercial terms, these entrepreneurial ventures offered advantages and disadvantages. The choice of booksellers or merchants already operating in Spain ensured – theoretically at least – the rapid distribution of books, obtaining profits for all parties. However, the bookseller was always free to choose with whom to transact business, and was attracted by the best offers. Employing an agent, on the other hand, required not only investment, but also time to cultivate the relationship. As such, the risks were certainly higher, but so too the potential for higher profit margins. In both cases, delays in payments, uncertainty and problems with the booksellers or with agents, were endemic.

All commercial networks bound individuals and groups of families together, whether they belonged to the same firm or not.<sup>18</sup> Central to such networks was loyalty, scrupulousness and respect for instructions. Indeed, the person or persons selected had to enjoy the absolute confidence of the publisher. Only the best-connected networks succeeded, and those that did reaped the greatest rewards.

Unlike the well-documented cases of agents placed in Seville and Salamanca by Petrus I Bellerus, and Christophe Plantin respectively during the second half of the sixteenth century, the early seventeenth century offers a valuable opportunity to illustrate book distribution carried out between an Antwerp publisher and a bookseller already operating in Spain.<sup>19</sup> This is the case of

18 Fernand Braudel, *Civilization and Capitalism, 15th–18th century: The Wheels of Commerce* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992), p. 149.

19 The best documented network of the second half of the sixteenth-century established between Antwerp and Seville is provided by Petrus I Bellerus (active in Antwerp from 1563 to 1600) and his agent Juan Lippeo or Lippens, the collaboration lasted some years from the 1570s to 1582. See Klaus Wagner, 'Flamencos en el comercio del libro en España: Juan Lippeo, mercader de libros y agente de los Bellere de Amberes', in Pedro M. Cátedra and María Luisa López-Vidriero (eds.) *El libro antiguo español, VI. De libros y librerías, imprentas y lectores* (Salamanca: Universidad de Salamanca, 2002), pp. 431–498. Christophe Plantin sought to strengthen his commercial operations with Spain through his own agent, Jan Poelman or Juan Pulman established in Salamanca. The collaboration existed in two

Juan Hasrey or Hertsroy, who was born in the Duchy of Brabant and became a prominent bookseller in Madrid, where he had become established by the first years of the century and remained active until his death in 1615.<sup>20</sup> It was not a coincidence that Hasrey along with many others foreign booksellers opted for Madrid as their centre of operations, given its position as the centre of Spanish political power from the last quarter of the sixteenth century onwards.

In Madrid, Hasrey was a key figure in the importation of Flemish books. He had numerous contacts with Spanish and foreign merchants, booksellers and publishers, not least one of the most famous Madrid publishers, Luis Sánchez. He was also well connected with key figures in the Antwerp printing trade, such as his own cousin Martinus II Nutius, Jan I Moretus and Jan Van Keerberghen. In addition, Hasrey was not only a bookseller but also an editor. *Las varias antigüedades de España, África y otras provincias* by Bernardo José Aldrete, was published under his own initiative by the Antwerp printers Geeraerd van Wolschaeten and Henri I Aertssens in 1614 (USTC 5015716). Moreover, he was also an active merchant handling a large volume of goods, including textiles, tapestries and even paintings.<sup>21</sup>

As already mentioned, the turn of the century witnessed an increase in the export of Antwerp books to the Hispanic world – the majority in Latin.<sup>22</sup> Not surprisingly, the services of Hasrey were sought by important Antwerp publishers like Jan I Moretus the son-in-law of Christophe Plantin (active from 1590 to 1610) and Jan Van Keerberghen (active from 1586 until 1624).<sup>23</sup> In fact, the two publishing houses experienced similarly rapid growth in this period. Under Jan I Moretus, for instance, the works of the celebrated Justus Lipsius were published extensively and exported, exerting an enormous intellectual influence

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periods, from 1581–1586 and 1586 to 1591. See Frans Robben, 'Juan Pulman, librero y agente de la Oficina Plantiniana en Salamanca (ca. 1579–1609), un avance', in Hans Tromp and Pedro Peira (eds.), *Simposio internacional sobre Cristóbal Plantino* (Madrid: Universidad Complutense, 1991), pp. 53–61.

20 Certainly Juan Hasrey was not the first Flemish bookseller whose services were used to distribute books originating from the Netherlands in Spain. Matthias Gast, for instance, provides a well-known example for the mid-sixteenth-century. However, the survival of source material allows a better sense of Hasrey's activities.

21 Juan Delgado Casado, *Diccionario de impresores españoles (siglos XV–XVII)* (Madrid: Arco/Libros, 1996), vol. II, pp. 633–634.

22 The importation of large amounts of Latin books printed abroad was certainly not unique to Spain.

23 Jan Moretus (1573–1610) still enjoys extraordinary name recognition. In 2010, the Museum Plantin-Moretus in Antwerp organized an exhibition to commemorate the 400th anniversary of his death.



in Spain (Figure 2.1).<sup>24</sup> It seems that inspired by lucrative opportunities, Van Keerberghen strove to put his own editions into the Spanish market – after all, the vast majority of his output dealt with modern theologians, including Latin works by several Iberian Jesuits such as Luis de Alcázar, Luis de Molina, Juan Osorio, Juan de Pineda, Francisco Suárez or the Portuguese Emmanuel Sá.<sup>25</sup>

To reach the Iberian market, Jan Van Keerberghen approached Juan Hasrey. From 1606 until 1612, the latter undertook the distribution of books dispatched by the former.<sup>26</sup> Before 1606, Hasrey had bought book shipments from Jan I Moretus. After 1606, the commercial relationship between the *Plantiniana* and Hasrey stopped. This manoeuvre placed Van Keerberghen in direct competition with the *Plantiniana*, at least concerning the profitable Spanish market.<sup>27</sup>

Consequently, the Moretuses perceived with distrust the operations of Van Keerberghen, deriding him. This was vividly illustrated in a letter written by Balthazar I Moretus, one of the sons and successors of Jan I Moretus, active from 1610 to 1641.<sup>28</sup> The letter was addressed to the influential Spanish Jesuit Phillipus de Peralta, who was the link between the Moretuses and the archbishop of Toledo, and was dated 15 January 1613.<sup>29</sup> In the words of Balthazar I, it was not only difficult to find a trustworthy agent *in situ*, but it was also believed that Jan Van Keerberghen was treacherously printing his editions in Germany and simply putting his name and that of the city of Antwerp on the title-page, resulting in cheaper editions that Van Keerberghen could easily dispatch to Hasrey in Madrid.<sup>30</sup>

24 Ángel Rivero Rodríguez, 'Política y Políticos en el tiempo de Felipe III: Tácito, Séneca, Lipsio', in José Martínez Millán (dir.), *La monarquía de Felipe III* (Madrid: Fundación MAPFRE, 2008), vol.1, pp. 136–147.

25 See for instance all the titles published by Van Keerberghen listed in the database of the Short Title Catalogue Vlaanderen (STCV), a project launched by the Flanders Heritage Library Organisation: [www.vlaamse-erfgoedbibliotheek.be/en/stcv](http://www.vlaamse-erfgoedbibliotheek.be/en/stcv).

26 On 23 March 1612, Jan Van Keerberghen the Younger on behalf of his father put an end to this collaboration, see Mercedes Agulló y Cobo, *La imprenta y el comercio de libros en Madrid (siglos XVI–XVII)* (Universidad Complutense de Madrid, Faculty of Geography and History, unpublished doctoral thesis, 1992), p. 7 and p. 126.

27 Imhof, 'Las ediciones españolas de la Officina Plantiniana', p. 68.

28 From 1610 to 1618 Balthazar I worked along with his brother Jan II Moretus. From 1618, he worked along with Maria de Sweert, widow of his brother and with the printer Joannes Meursius or Van Meurs until 1629. From then on he was completely in charge of the *Plantiniana* until 1641.

29 It is worth noting that Christophe Plantin and the Moretuses were able to establish contacts in the highest echelons of Spanish government, resulting in profitable contracts as well as royal favour to support important projects.

30 The original letter was written in Latin. Dirk Imhof found it in the rich archive of the Museum Plantin Moretus, see Imhof, 'Las ediciones españolas de la Officina Plantiniana', p. 68.

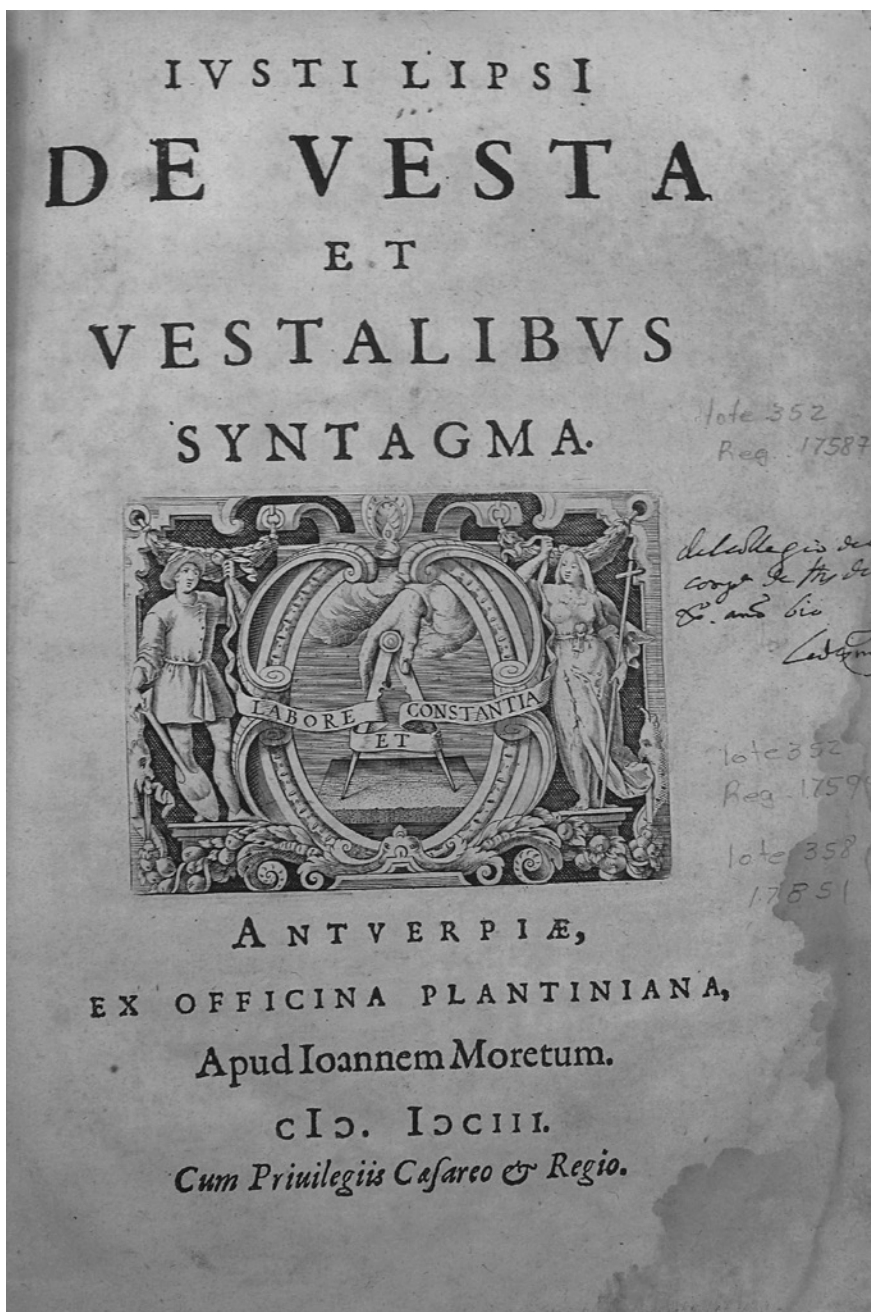


FIGURE 2.1 Lipsius' works were published extensively by Jan I Moretus and distributed internationally into the Iberian World. Justus Lipsius, *De Vesta et Vestalibus Syntagma*. (Antwerp: Jan I Moretus, 1603), Biblioteca Nacional de México BNM. (RFO 225 LIP.v. 1603) (USTC 1003402).

In 1613, Hasrey and the Van Keerberghen family renewed and strengthened their partnership when the latter's son, Jan Van Keerberghen the Younger signed a contract with him on 23 March, in which he agreed to take on his younger brother Joost or Justo as an apprentice in his shop for six years.<sup>31</sup> Thus, a young apprentice was sent to Hasrey in order to learn the trade. The same day, Hasrey was granted the right to deal with all the Van Keerberghen's business. However, this contract was abruptly cancelled a few months later on 21 November.<sup>32</sup>

More significantly was the fact that by 15 October 1613, the Jesuit Phillipus de Peralta announced gladly in a letter addressed to Balthazar I Moretus that the Hieronymites of El Escorial were ready to buy liturgical works from Antwerp again.<sup>33</sup> Given such a lucrative opportunity, the Moretuses sought Hasrey's services in Madrid as their contact person with the Hieronymites, offering him attractive conditions, not least a 10 per cent commission.<sup>34</sup> Due to this rapprochement, the partnership between the Van Keerberghen family and Juan Hasrey came to an abrupt end in November 1613. By February 1615, Juan Hasrey was working for the Moretuses liaising between the *Plantiniana* to the Hieronymites. From this point onwards, the contacts between the heirs of Jan I Moretus and the fathers of El Escorial were restored completely. Furthermore, after Hasrey's death in September 1615, the Moretuses continued sending their books to Cornelio Martín/Cornelis Maertens who was a servant (*criado*) of Hasrey, and who had been appointed as one of the executors of his will.<sup>35</sup>

As Imhof and Bowen have shown, the intense production of these liturgical and devotional editions was a response to Tridentine decisions on the need for

31 From the mid-sixteenth century, young apprentices had been sent to Spain in order to learn the know-how of the local trade, as well as the language. At times they also moved there to develop their own personal careers.

32 Agulló y Cobo, *La imprenta y el comercio de libros en Madrid*, p. 126.

33 From 1573, Philip II entrusted the Hieronymites of El Escorial with the printing and distribution of the *Nuevo Rezado* texts within his domains. Before 1615 the Hieronymites purchased liturgical works exclusively from Venice. However, the Spanish high-ranking clergy favoured the editions issued by the *Plantiniana*. Imhof, 'Las ediciones españolas de la Oficina Plantiniana', pp. 69–70. See also: Christian Péligré, 'El Monasterio de San Lorenzo de El Escorial y la difusión de los libros litúrgicos en España 1573–1615', *Primeras jornadas de bibliografía* (Madrid: Fundación Universitaria Española, 1977), pp. 465–473.

34 Imhof, 'Las ediciones españolas de la Oficina Plantiniana', p. 80, fn.30.

35 Agulló y Cobo, *La imprenta y el comercio de libros en Madrid*, p. 128. According to Matthew Restall no English word fully conveys the way in which a *criado* was both a subordinate and a real member of the household. Matthew Restall, *Seven Myths of the Spanish Conquest* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), p. 35.

texts essential to the practice of the reformed Catholic faith. These provisions, and the new liturgical decrees, created a huge demand for thousands of copies of these works.<sup>36</sup> The trade was, in consequence, fabulously lucrative, with Christophe Plantin and then the Moretuses benefiting the most. It is worth noting a petition of 12 April 1615 requested by the Hieronymites to Philip III, asking him to mediate with the archdukes in Brussels, to compel the families Moretus and Van Keerberghen to reduce the excessive prices of their religious works. The fathers of El Escorial added that only these two printers had the privilege and ability to print these books.<sup>37</sup> Jan Van Keerberghen's response to this complaint is not known, unlike that of Balthazar I and Jan II Moretus, who argued that their delicate edition, the kind of paper employed, the elegant typography and the wonderful engravings, made their works high-quality products. The costs were, therefore, justified. Furthermore, they argued that their prices conformed with international norms, not least in the French and Italian markets.<sup>38</sup>

Juan Hasrey was a key figure in the distribution of Flemish books in Madrid during the early seventeenth century. His position and the powerful connections he had established and nurtured with local and foreigner printers and booksellers ensured that his services were in demand from the Antwerp printing shops.<sup>39</sup> In the end, Hasrey benefited from the bitter competitiveness established between the Moretuses and Van Keerberghen. From his

36 Karen Lee Bowen and Dirk Imhof, *Christopher Plantin and Engraved Book Illustrations in Sixteenth-Century Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), pp. 123–124.

37 The copy of the letter kept at the Museum Plantin-Moretus (MPM, *Archive* 102, 583–584) says: 'Copia d'una supplica a sa. Magd. de los Padres de St. Jermo. El prior y convento de St. Lorenzo el Real dizen que los herederos de Xpl. Plantino y Juan Keerbergio impresores de Flandes venden los libros del Nuevo Rezado que imprimen muy caros y a precios excessivos, por razón de qu'ellos dos solamente tienen privilegio y facultad de poderlos imprimir en todos aquellos estados, por cuya causa no se pueden tener los dichos libros del rezo en el estanco de aquí a precios moderados, y en la abundancia que se desea. Suplica a v.m.d. se sirva de su consentimiento y mandar escribir al Archiduque Alberto de su cedula y privilegio al dicho convento de St. Lorenzo para que la persona que nombrare de aquellos estados pueda imprimir en ellos libremente y sin incurrir en pena alguna, los libros del rezo que de aca se le ordenaren', see Imhof, 'Las ediciones españolas de la Oficina Plantiniana', p. 81, fn. 42.

38 Imhof, 'Las ediciones españolas de la Oficina Plantiniana', p. 70.

39 Hasrey also had contacts with his cousin and publisher Martinus II Nutius (active in Antwerp from 1579 to 1608), as illustrated by the latter's will, where Hasrey is listed among the debtors in Spain. See Erik Duverger, *Antwerpse Kunstinventarissen uit de zeventiende eeuw 1600–1617* (Brussels: Koninklijke Academie voor Wetenschappen, Letteren en Schone Kunsten van België, 1984), vol. I, testament 166.

perspective, in Madrid, Hasrey simply chose the best option, and the one that made the greatest business sense.

After the rupture with Hasrey, it became necessary for the Van Keerberghen family to identify a new bookseller. Information is very patchy, but still revealing. By 9 April 1616, Jan Van Keerberghen the Younger signed a contract with Jerónimo or Jerome de Courbes granting him the authority to deal with his family operations in Spain.<sup>40</sup> The choice was a good one, since De Courbes was the most important French bookseller in Madrid, as well as a merchant and a moneylender. De Courbes was originally from Paris and took up residence in Madrid in 1611 where he worked until at least 1631. He managed to create an extensive network, which involved French, Italian and Flemish booksellers, as well as Spaniards from Alcalá, Zaragoza, Valencia, Salamanca and Seville.

Meanwhile, Joost or Justo Van Keerberghen, who had for a short period served as an apprentice in Hasrey's shop, was apparently working with De Courbes, because by 1618 the French bookseller had granted him the authority to ask for the payment of a debt from Bernarda del Castillo, a bookseller based in Alcalá. It is not known how many years this new partnership lasted.<sup>41</sup> Prior to 1620, Van Keerberghen also maintained commercial operations with another French bookseller active in Madrid, Jacques Cardon, a relation of the Cardon family, whose bookshop was one of the most important in Lyon during the first half of the seventeenth-century.<sup>42</sup>

In addition, on 5 May 1620, Jan Van Keerberghen the Younger was also in Seville, acting as the official agent of his father in the city, where he was sent to close the debt of Jacques Goos, Flemish merchant established there, for 18 cases of books that had been dispatched from Antwerp in 1619.<sup>43</sup> In the same year he ratified the settlement of a debt that the aforementioned Jacques Cardón

40 Agulló y Cobo, *La imprenta y el comercio de libros en Madrid*, p. 69.

41 Mercedes Agulló found documentary evidence suggesting that in 1624 Justo Van Keerberghen was obliged to pay 34,000 *maravedís* to the Courbes. The amount was used at the court, but the specific reason is not known. Agulló y Cobo, *La imprenta y el comercio de libros en Madrid*, p. 242.

42 Clara Palmiste, 'Los mercaderes de libros e impresores flamencos en Sevilla: organización de las redes mercantiles en Europa y América (1680–1750)', in Ana Crespo Solana (coord.), *Comunidades Transnacionales: Colonias de Mercaderes en el Mundo Atlántico (1500–1830)* (Madrid: Doce Calles, 2010), p. 264. In fact, the Cardon family dispatched books to booksellers in Medina del Campo until 1608 and subsequently to Madrid and Valladolid. See Anastasio Rojo Vega, *Impresores, librerías y papeleros en Medina del Campo y Valladolid en el siglo XVII* (Salamanca: Junta de Castilla y León, 1994), p. 49.

43 Archivo Histórico Protocolos de Sevilla AHPS, *Oficio* 5, 3606, 571v.

owed to him and to his brother Joost.<sup>44</sup> Thus, Jan Van Keerberghen's legal and commercial operations were achieved thanks to the mediation of his sons. He was possibly one of the first Antwerp printers to send his own sons directly to Spain to act on his behalf.

In the end, the experience of the Van Keerberghen family demonstrates that it was not only the powerful Moretuses who had the resources and experience to trade books in Spain during the early seventeenth century. It also suggests that Antwerp booksellers did not have to rely exclusively on their own countrymen to distribute their wares. The case also shows how family members could be used to supervise commercial networks. After all, family offered the most natural and sought-after solution in the merchant profession.<sup>45</sup>

By the second half of the seventeenth century, the Moretuses did not rely exclusively on booksellers to distribute their editions (like Hasrey). It is well known that under Balthazar II Moretus (active from 1641 to 1674), the book trade with the Iberian Peninsula was accomplished by means of Flemish merchants such as Carlos de Licht and Jorge de Coninck based in Seville, and Carlos du Pont based in Madrid.<sup>46</sup> In both cities, these agents acted as intermediaries between the Moretuses and their clients. In short, the services of Flemish merchants already established in Spain were very sought after by the *Plantiniana* especially after the second half of the century. In the end, the Flemish community was strong and firmly established with its own merchant guilds at cities like Seville, which offered good prospects for international book distribution since it was a large commercial centre, not least given the Carrera de Indias, the trade with Spanish America.<sup>47</sup>

### The Maritime Trade Routes

The analysis of the book trade connecting Antwerp to the Iberian Peninsula would be incomplete without mention of the contacts required to supervise the maritime operations in the ports of the Low Countries. These shipping agents or *expediteurs* had to pay the transport costs as well as find a suitable

44 AHPS, *Oficio* 5, 3607, 191v.

45 Fernand Braudel, *Civilization and Capitalism*, p. 150.

46 Tom Van Poppel, *De boekenafzet der Moretussen op Spanje en de koloniën (eind zeventiende eeuw): het belang van de liturgische productie voor de Officina Plantiniana tijdens de Contra-Reformatie* (University of Ghent, Department of History, unpublished bachelor thesis, 1997), p. 70.

47 Palmiste, 'Los mercaderes de libros e impresores flamencos en Sevilla', p. 251.

ship en route to Bilbao, San Sebastian, Seville, Cadiz, or Lisbon. Moreover, they had to carefully supervise the loading of cases of books. In the event that no ships were available, or that the weather conditions were not favorable, the cases had to be stored in warehouses. This knowledge was crucial in order to send books to Spain in a timely manner.

From the moment ships left the Low Countries, agents had to provide detailed information regarding the description of the cases of books dispatched, the names of the ship and the captain, the destination, the date of departure, the costs of transport and the recipient. In the case of the Moretuses, their agents wrote down this information in a '*conossement*' or consignment. With this meticulous information, the publishers in Antwerp knew the date of departure of the ships before sending letters to their agents in the Iberian Ports. On the other side, the agents based in the Spanish ports regularly sent information about the availability of ships en route to the Netherlands. They also sent payments back in the form of bills of exchange, completing the cycle.<sup>48</sup>

With respect to the ports of departure, sixteenth-century Antwerp boasted the most important port in the region. However, with the economic decline and the consequent blockade by the United Provinces of the Scheldt – the city's main economic artery – other regional ports mostly located in the Northern Provinces, like Middelburg, Rotterdam, and Amsterdam benefited. Accordingly, for numerous merchants of Brabant and Flanders, these ports emerged as viable alternatives to Antwerp.

Ostend also became a significant trade port in the Southern Netherlands from the first half of the seventeenth century onwards. As a result, some Antwerp dynasties of publishers, like the Moretuses sought to base agents there. From Ostend, the final destination in Andalusia was Cadiz. In fact, the trade between Ostend and Cadiz was accomplished through a convoy of ships and for a short period at least, the trade was prosperous. The maritime convoy of Ostend also connected Dunkirk, which was another possible departure port for a large number of Flemish and French manufactures and other products. From Dunkirk it was possible to reach the Southern ports of Western Andalusia and even the Madeira and the Canary Islands.<sup>49</sup> However, during the last third of the seventeenth century, a growing number of merchants from Flanders and Brabant preferred increasingly to use ships provided by the Dutch '*Levantse*

48 Van Poppel, *De boekenafzet der Moretussen op Spanje*, pp. 102–108.

49 The Maritime Convoy of Ostend was not a company in the strict sense of the word but rather a convoy of ships chartered by private merchants. However, it did not last long and did not survive the war of the Spanish succession. Ana Crespo Solana, *Mercaderes atlánticos. Redes del comercio flamenco y holandés entre Europa y el Caribe* (Córdoba: Universidad de Córdoba, 2009), pp. 55–56.

*handel*, not only for the frequency and punctuality of departures, but also for the efficient connections between markets.<sup>50</sup> In the end, merchants used every possible route for the lucrative trade with Spain.

When the shipments of the Moretuses were sent through Ostend, they were first dispatched from Antwerp to Ghent or Bruges. The Moretuses had contacts in all these ports.<sup>51</sup> The bales of books that were sent from Dunkirk were always addressed to the agent of Ostend. Concerning Middelburg, the Moretuses directly sent there their shipments of books. Finally, when the books were sent to Spain via Amsterdam, the shipments were sent through Delft, Rotterdam or Utrecht. Once in Amsterdam, their contacts dispatched them to Spain.<sup>52</sup> Routinely, the shipments intended for Madrid were dispatched to the Northern Spanish ports, such as Bilbao or San Sebastian and those intended for Seville to Cadiz. Once in Bilbao (or San Sebastian) the cases of books were sent using '*arrieros*' muleteers to Madrid or other Castilian urban centres. If the bales were dispatched to Cadiz and the final destination was Seville, the cases of books were sent via the Guadalquivir.<sup>53</sup>

### Antwerp's Typographic Reputation in Spain

The strong reputation for the quality of Antwerp printing attracted a myriad of Spanish authors seeking to publish their works there from the sixteenth century onwards. The distinct advantages offered by the presses of other countries were certainly tempting: there were fewer legal obstacles, and the resulting books were of a far higher standard.<sup>54</sup> In fact, by the early seventeenth century this trend increased, despite legal obstacles like the *pragmatica* issued on 4 June 1610, which prohibited Spanish authors to go abroad or to send their own texts to be printed in other kingdoms without having a royal license.<sup>55</sup> Those Spanish subjects who violated this decree by publishing books of any matter

50 Ana Crespo Solana, *Mercaderes atlánticos*, p. 68.

51 The navigation between Antwerp and Ghent was made using the Scheldt and then the canal linking Ghent to Bruges, which was ready to use by 1624. The canal connecting Bruges to Ostend was already operating by 1623.

52 Van Poppel, *De boekenafzet der Moretussen op Spanje en de koloniën*, pp. 102–108.

53 Van Poppel, *De boekenafzet der Moretussen op Spanje en de koloniën*, pp. 123–125.

54 For instance, Philip II's historian, Esteban Garibay y Zamalloa requested and obtained a license to publish abroad *Los XL libros del Compendio historial de las chronicas y uniuersal historia de todos los reynos de España* (Antwerp: Christophe Plantin, 1571) (USTC 440119). Garibay was expressly looking for a better typographic quality, given the extent of his work.

55 A *pragmática* was a law issued by a competent authority, which differed from royal decrees and orders in the manner of its publication. Legally, the word is nowadays obsolete.



or science in any language abroad, would automatically lose half of their property, as well as their assets. Moreover, those who helped them to bring and introduce their books into the Spanish kingdoms would also be punished.<sup>56</sup>

Notwithstanding the enforcement of this *pragmática*, the fact that the printing output was technically better outside Spain was a reality that could not be denied, not to mention the shortage of paper in Spain, local printer's ineptness, their poor knowledge of Latin, limited investment of capital, or the high costs of the Spanish books. In summary, the domestic outlook was not encouraging. Therefore, exceptions were allowed, and the Council of Castile began to dispatch licenses to several authors, especially Jesuits, who requested that their texts be printed abroad, particularly in Antwerp, Lyon or Paris. Examples include father Luis de Alcázar, father Gaspar Sánchez, as well as the bibliophile Lorenzo Ramírez del Prado (Figure 2.2).<sup>57</sup> Common arguments included not only that Antwerp was part of the Crown, but also that Greek characters and other typographical materials for the book were next to impossible to find in Spain's presses.<sup>58</sup> All these authors, and their books printed abroad, were sanctioned by the Inquisition and were permitted to enter Spain without restriction.

56 The *pragmática* was published in Fermín De los Reyes, 'El control legislativo y los Index inquisitoriales', in Víctor Infantes, François López, Jean-François Botrel (dirs.) *Historia de la Edición y Lectura en España 1472–1914* (Madrid: Fundación Germán Sánchez Ruipérez, 2003), p. 98.

57 Luis de Alcázar, *Vestigatio arcani sensus in Apocalypsi* (Antwerp: Jan Van Keerberghen, 1614 and 1619) (USTC 5011566). Gaspar Sánchez published in Lyon several commentaries on the Scripture, for instance: *In Isaïam Prophetam Commentarii* (Lyon: Horace Cardon, 1615) (USTC 6902033); *Commentarii in Actus Apostolorum* (Lyon: Horace Cardon, 1616) (USTC 6902062); and *In Ieremiam prophetam commentarii* (Lyon: Horace Cardon, 1618) (USTC 6902381). Lorenzo Ramírez del Prado, *Pentekontarxoz, sive, Qvinqvaginta militvm dvctor* (Antwerp: Jan van Keerberghen, 1612) (USTC 1007998). During the first half of the seventeenth century the private library of Lorenzo Ramírez del Prado was one of the richest and most celebrated in Madrid, rivalling that of the Duke of Olivares, see Manuel Sánchez Mariana, *Bibliófilos Españoles, Desde sus orígenes hasta los albores del siglo xx* (Madrid: Biblioteca Nacional, 1993), p. 50.

58 "Y porque la última ley que trata de la impresión de los libros prohibia a los naturales de estos reinos que los imprimiesen fuera de ellos sin especial licencia nuestra, nos pedistes y suplicastes la mandásemos dar para que en la ciudad de Amberes que era de nuestra corona le pudiéredes imprimir, atento que el dicho libro constaba en muchas partes de letras griegas, y otras curiosidades, de que había gran falta en las imprentas de estos reinos. y a que no teniades posibilidad para imprimille por la gran costa que causaría, si se hubiesen de fundir caracteres nuevos", see Fermín de los Reyes, *El Libro en España y América*, I, p. 275.

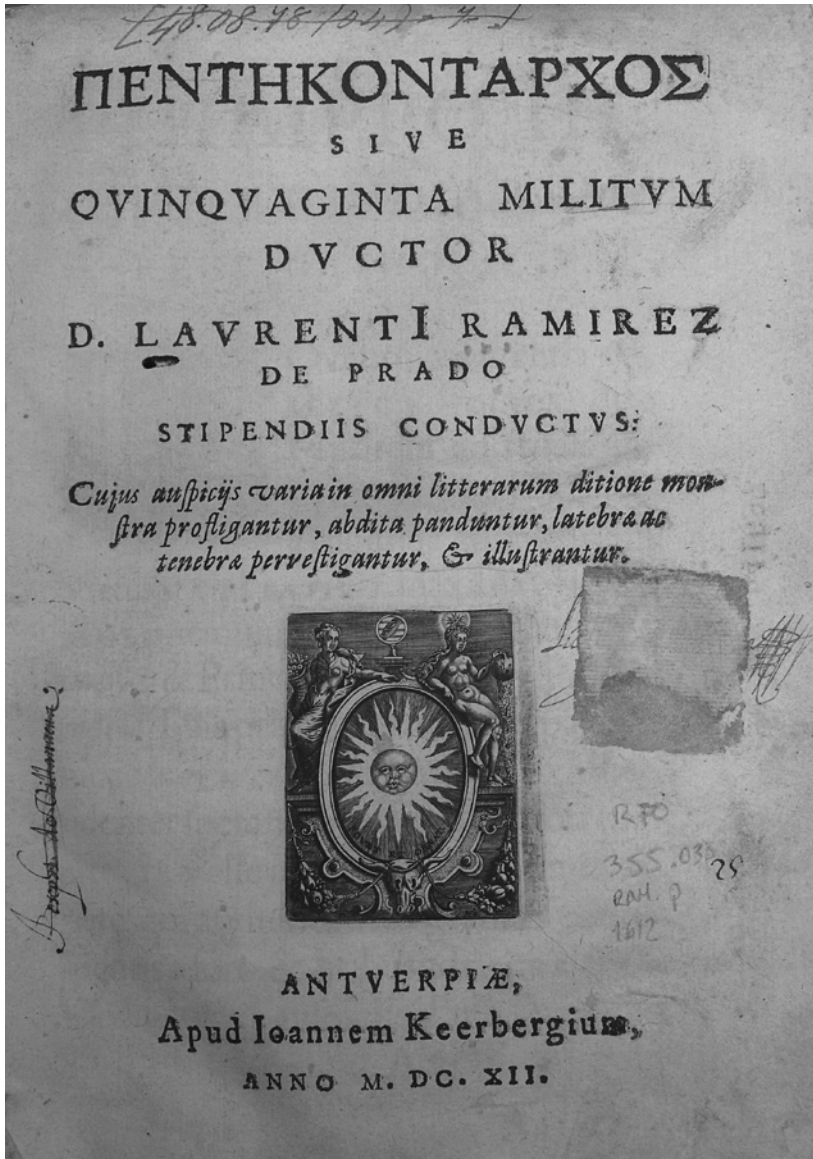


FIGURE 2.2 Several Spanish authors sought to publish their books in Antwerp and other cities abroad, looking for a better quality of typography, not to mention the accurate use of Greek and other alphabets. Lorenzo Ramírez del Prado, *Pentekontarxoz sive Qvinqvaginta militvm dvctor* (Antwerp: Jan van Keerberghen, 1612), Biblioteca Nacional de México BNM (RFO 355.033 RAM. p. 1612) (USTC 1007998).

This stream of Spanish authors publishing in Antwerp and other European cities was noticed and recorded by the French traveller François Bertaut in December 1659, in a letter to the Jesuit Antonio de Escobar y Mendoza.<sup>59</sup>

Il n'y a point d'imprimeurs en Espagne assez forts pour entreprendre de grands ouvrages, qu'ils [the authors] envoient tous imprimer à Lyon ou Anvers.<sup>60</sup>

Bertaut called attention to the fact that due to a lack of financial means, it was simply not possible to carry out major editorial projects in Spain. The printers of Lyon and Antwerp took advantage of this situation.

In conclusion, we have seen how the Antwerp publishing houses facilitated the distribution of their Latin and vernacular editions by creating sophisticated networks which relied on family members, agents, or booksellers already established in Spain. An efficient network secured first-hand and invaluable information about book markets and local trends. The costs of such systems were repaid by the potential gains and benefits afforded by the Spanish market. In the end, Spain along with other European regions enjoyed the intellectual benefits of importing books supplied by other European printing centres at least until the second half of the eighteenth century. In fact, this dynamic international bookselling throughout Spain was largely in the hands of immigrants by the seventeenth century, particularly Germans, Genoese, Flemish, and French.

The printing presses of Antwerp in the seventeenth century were not only hugely productive, but also maintained impressively high standards. The typographical excellence of the Antwerp press was well known in the Iberian World, as it was elsewhere. As a result, the Southern Netherlands retained the role of an important production and distribution centre for Catholic Reformation culture to the Spanish Empire throughout the seventeenth century.

By the seventeenth century, Madrid and Seville (though not anymore Salamanca or Medina del Campo) were coveted centres of international book distribution. By the time of Balthazar II Moretus, Spain definitely became the most important market for the *Officina Plantiniana*. According to Materné this shift was possible because of the development of Madrid and Seville as essential centres of book production and international distribution, as well as the

59 Antonio Escobar y Mendoza, published several works of moral theology in Lyon.

60 François Bertaut, *Journal de voyage d'Espagne* (Paris: Denys Thierry, 1669), pp. 194–195. Quoted in Fermín De los Reyes, *El Libro en España y América*, 1, p. 284.

shrinking of the once traditional German market, evidenced by the decline of the Frankfurt Fairs.<sup>61</sup>

The editions printed in the Southern Netherlands continued to arrive steadily in the Iberian World. To a great extent, they were specialized books in Latin, much sought after and valued among circles of readers. These books were certainly more expensive than the cheap vernacular and popular editions published on the Spanish presses, and they were oriented to a select public of clerics, jurists, physicians, architects, students and other professionals.

Once in the Iberian Peninsula, books originating from Antwerp came to different fortunes: they may have been purchased by local readers and remain in Spain; or they may have travelled as part of passengers' personal effects or as part of books of religious missions en route to the Indies; or they may have been shipped directly by Spanish booksellers to New Spain, Peru or other territories to be sold by local booksellers or agents there.

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61 Only with the city of Cologne did trade remain fairly brisk due to its proximity with the Southern Netherlands. See Jan Materné, 'Restructuring the Plantinian Office. The Moretus and the Antwerp Economy in a Time of Transition (Seventeenth Century)', in Erik Aerts *et al.* (eds.), *Studia Historica Œconomica: Liber Alumnorum Herman Van der Wee* (Leuven: Universitaire Pers Leuven, 1993), pp. 296, 301.

## The Importation of Books into New Spain During the Seventeenth Century

*Idalia García*

Tell me – the man who disposes of his property and carries merchandise to the Indies, what does he seek but riches? For he who will become wealthy does not carry the word of God, and some will be lost, others drowned in the sea, others will die on land, and others will be despoiled by pirates or defaulted by their debtors.

JULIO CARO BAROJA, *Las formas complejas de la vida religiosa*.



### The Book Trade between Europe and New Spain

Exploiting trade networks that linked the Old with the New World, many crates of books were shipped across the Atlantic to fulfill the needs and interests of private as well as institutional libraries in New Spain. We can still trace the contents of these imports using lists preserved in the General Archive of the Nation in Mexico (AGN). The following extracts give some illustration of the sort of information that can be found.

With the bearer, Joan Santoyo Almazan, owner of his own mule train of Puebla, is carried four crates of books with three hundred items entitled *Templo militante y vidas de santos*, written by Bartholome Cayrasco and printed in Valladolid in 1603. Stamped with marks on the outside. To be delivered to Pedro Francisco Montoyo, merchant. May our Lord keep your Illustrious Lordship for many years. Nueva Veracruz, 9 November 1620.<sup>1</sup>

Here we have an application dated 1601 by Father Joseph Vidal, Attorney General of the Society of Jesus in New Spain, who reported that:

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<sup>1</sup> Archivo General de la Nación (hereafter AGN), Indiferente Virreinal, Caja 5486, fol. 1r. This chapter is written in memory of Liborio Villagómez.

Ordinarily in every fleet some crates of books arrive for the schools of this Society, examined and approved, and licensed by the Inquisition of the city of Seville, and then the said crates are usually opened in the city of Veracruz by the officer that the Inquisition has placed there. His opening of these crates has been the cause of much denouncement, inconvenience and vexation.<sup>2</sup>

We can also find scattered evidence on the books themselves. The following was written in a Bible printed in Paris in 1540.

This Bible came in crates of books sent from Valencia, and it was delivered by Don Ceferino Martínez.<sup>3</sup>

While this text appeared in a book once owned by Carlos de Sigüenza y Góngora, with a handwritten annotation on the cover:

Don Carlos de Sigüenza y Gongora, 1678 7 p.4. Shipped to me from Flanders with a price in Mexico of 7p. 4r.<sup>4</sup>

Such sources confirm that books arrived from Europe for distribution to virtually all bookstores and bookstalls in the cities and towns of New Spain.<sup>5</sup> However, they can also offer other important insights – not least in expanding our knowledge of those involved in the book trade, and the connections between them. A 1612 list of boxes of books,<sup>6</sup> for instance, tells us not only about booksellers such as Juan Treviño, Diego Navarro Maldonado and Antón de la

2 AGN, Inquisición 1579A, exp. 6, fol. 1r.

3 Note on the front flyleaf, *Biblia hebraea, Chaldaea, Graeca & Latina* (Parisiis: Ex Officina Roberti Sthepani Typographi Regii, 1540) (USTC 182365). Biblioteca Eusebio Francisco Kino 13230.

4 *Francisci Leueræ Romani Prodromus vniuersæ astronomiæ restitutæ de anni solaris, & sideræ, ac dierum magnitudine in omni æuo, & de reliquis periodis, motibus, & circulationibus solaribus admirandis, adhuc incognitis, ac etiam sidereis, ab autore exploratis, & inuentis* (Romæ: ex typographia Angeli Bernabò, 1663). Biblioteca Nacional de México Inv 1991–15081.

5 See too Pedro Rueda Ramírez, 'El comercio de libros con América en el mundo moderno: reflexión en torno al circuito atlántico', in *Complejidad y materialidad: reflexiones del Seminario del Libro Antiguo*, Idalia García (comp.) (México: Centro Universitario de Investigaciones Bibliotecológicas, 2009), pp. 214–220, Francisco Fernández del Castillo, *Libros y libreros en el siglo XVI*, 2a edición facsimilar (México: AGN; FCE, 1982), and Edmundo O'Gorman, 'Bibliotecas y librerías coloniales, 1585–1694', *Boletín del Archivo General de la Nación* T. 10, núm. 4 (1939), pp. 649–806.

6 Mentioned by Fernández del Castillo, *Libros y libreros en el siglo XVI*, pp. 535–536.

Fuente, but also of their associations with readers such as Fray Alonso de la Veracruz.<sup>7</sup> According to recent research undertaken by Pedro Rueda, 35 per cent of the trade in books took place during the first decade of the seventeenth century.<sup>8</sup> It may well be the case that the relative decline in the flow of trade after this point was linked to the economic crisis in Europe that led to the weakening of trans-oceanic trade after 1620.<sup>9</sup> Mexico's own printing industry grew considerably in this same period but production was only intended to satisfy the local market.

The structure of the book trade between Europe and New Spain was sophisticated, and offered the potential for lucrative opportunity, or indeed significant loss. This trade was formed on commercial networks that had been in operation since the beginning of the sixteenth century. In this formative period, there were people who described themselves as booksellers, although there is no concrete evidence of any physical bookshops having been established. This all changed in the seventeenth century, where we find records which point definitively to the operation of bookstores, such as that of Juan Lorenzo Bezón, who received books from Simón de Toro in 1634.<sup>10</sup> This shipment contained 207 titles including: the works of Tacitus, Plutarch and Petrarch; numerous theological and legal texts, not least by Fray Luis de Granada; as well as other works such as the *Jugetes de Quebedo*. Simón was a member of a prominent family of book merchants from Seville, the son of Antonio de Toro who was also a publisher. Simón, his sister Ana, and her husband were sent to Mexico in 1619 to expand the family business. Ana's husband Francisco Clarín opened his bookstore in 1621 and Simón apparently opened his in 1634.<sup>11</sup>

Simón may in fact have opened his bookstore a few years earlier, because there is a document recording the books he had in his store in 1629.<sup>12</sup> The inventory records 254 items, which included plays by Lope de Vega and Tirso de Molina, and works by Calepino, Pliny, Virgil, Ovid, Nebrija, Bellarmine, Quevedo, Cicero, Petrarch, as well as other theological, legal, medical and literary

7 AGN, Indiferente Virreinal, Caja 4217, exp. 042, fol. 28r.

8 Pedro Rueda Ramírez, *Negocio e intercambio cultural: el comercio de libros con América en la Carrera de Indias, Siglo XVII* (Sevilla: Universidad: Diputación: CSIC, 2005), p. 55.

9 Bryan Hamnett, *Historia de México*, 2nd edition (Madrid: Cambridge University Press, 2002), p. 98.

10 'Memoria de los libros que en esta tienda que tengo de Simón de Toro'. AGN, Inquisición 438, exp. 45, fol. 462r–463v.

11 Pedro Rueda Ramírez, 'Los libreros Juan López Román y Antonio de Toro en la Carrera de Indias', in P. Rueda (ed.), *El libro en circulación en el mundo moderno en España y Latinoamérica* (Madrid: Calambur, 2012), pp. 51–52.

12 'Memoria de los libros que me vinieron de España a mi Simón de Toro, mercader de libros este año de 1629'. AGN, Inquisición 363, exp. 35, fol. 306r–309v.

texts. Two 1634 lists of Simón's books are also preserved, where 254 books are mentioned. These lists contain some of the same authors, but also Alciato and St Ambrosius, as well as works such as *Guzmán de Alfarache*, *La Araucana* and the 1612 and 1632 inquisitorial indexes.<sup>13</sup>

Of course, the Seville merchants had the advantage that their city was the departure point for commercial voyages to the New World. There were few sources of supply for bookstores before the early seventeenth century, ensuring the success of trade networks that some booksellers had established using the Treasure Fleet. For several years, Antonio de Toro himself supplied the Seville bookseller Diego López, who operated his business in the city of Puebla.

Rueda has shown that during the course of this trade relationship, 140 copies of 31 titles were sent from Seville to New Spain in 1606; 341 copies of 30 books in 1613; and some years later, in 1633, 112 copies of 30 books.<sup>14</sup> This did not hinder some families already settled in New Spain from growing their share of the book trade. This trend is demonstrated by the family of Bernardo Calderón, who was born in Alcalá de Henares in 1603, and by 1628 was already an established bookseller in Mexico. The family, which consisted of the Calderóns and the Riveras, always maintained a relationship between the printing press and the bookstore. They owned the two largest bookstores in Mexico in the seventeenth century.<sup>15</sup>

These business trends from Spain never prevented specialized chains or the occasional traveling salesman from distributing books within New Spain. These networks enabled even the most outlying northern cities in New Spain to have access to books. There is certainly evidence of boxes and books that were transported by mule trains throughout New Spain, outside the more usual channels by which books were sent between private parties. Here is one illuminating testimony:

Manuel Rodríguez Moya, resident of Jalapa, is carrying in his mule train two boxes of books sent by Councilor Quevedo to the Archbishop of Mexico, and another small box that he sends to [Juan] Luis de Ibarra,

13 'Memoria de los libros que Simón de Toro librero tiene en su tienda de libros este año de 1634', AGN, Inquisición 1570B, exp. 167, fol. 38r–39v.

14 Rueda Ramírez, *Negocio e intercambio cultural*, p. 94.

15 Kenneth C. Ward, 'Three hundred and eighty six folio volumes and forty bookmarks: The Bookstore and Print Shop inventories of Paula de Benavides and Juan de Rivera, 1687', en *El libro en circulación en el mundo moderno en España y Latinoamérica*, Pedro Rueda (ed.) (Madrid: Calambur, 2012) pp. 79 & 82.



Judge of the Royal High Court of Mexico, may our Lord keep your Lordship. Nueva Veracruz, 13 October 1622.<sup>16</sup>

The variety and quantity of goods traded between Spain and its New World colonies continually increased as cities and towns developed. The founding of the *Casa de Contratación* (the House of Trade) in 1503 gave Seville the advantage in a setting where a flow of merchandise was streaming continually between the two continents. Even if Seville had lost its dominant position as a center of book production by the mid-1550s, it did not diminish its place in the book trade between Spain and the Spanish territories in the Americas.<sup>17</sup>

It is not surprising, then, that the Inquisition paid particular attention to Seville. Since the enactment of the 1558 decree by Philip II, the Inquisition focused its energies mainly on the censorship of books that had already been published. It sought to monitor and control books, manuscripts and other publications that had begun to circulate in various markets. 1559 saw the first publication of indexes of banned and expurgated books. From the Castle of Triana, its headquarters in Seville, the Inquisition worked to stem the flow of banned books through a cumbersome but methodical procedure. This administrative process started when the merchants prepared their list of books, including authors and titles, for each crate that was shipped. The list of contents and all the documents were presented at the accounting office of the *Casa de Contratación* for all the necessary procedures – the *almojarifazgo* customs duty, *avería*, and so on. After this administrative paperwork had been completed, the list was handed over to the inquisitors for review and authorization, and the crates were then sealed with wax.<sup>18</sup> It is due to this somewhat complex procedure that detailed records of the traffic in books between the two continents have been preserved.

We know, therefore, quite a significant amount about the commercial network in New Spain. However, we may assume that an additional cost would have been added in direct sales, since the only information available relates to

16 'Doctor Juan Mathías Flores informa sobre cajones de libros para el Arzobispo de México (1622)', AGN, Inquisición 326, 274r.

17 In the same period the Andalusian city was displaced by two centres of book production Medina and Salamanca. Anastasio Rojo Vega, 'From Europe to Finisterre: a caravan of books to Galicia (1595)', in Benito Rial Costa (ed.), *Print Culture and Peripheries in Early Modern Europe: A Contribution to the History of Printing and the Book Trade in Small European and Spanish Cities* (Leiden: Brill, 2013), p. 383.

18 Pedro Rueda Ramírez, 'Las rutas del libro atlántico: libros enviados en el navío de Honduras (1557–1700)', *Anuario de Estudios Americanos*, vol. 64, núm. 2 (2007), p. 66.

the price list that the Council of the Indies set in 1564 for printed sheets sold in the New World.<sup>19</sup> In Spain, it was 3 maravedís per sheet, in Santo Domingo, Española, and the Outer Antilles it was 6, in New Spain and the New Kingdom of Granada it was 8. It was most expensive in Peru, at 10 maravedís per sheet.<sup>20</sup> It has not yet been possible to undertake a comparative study of book prices between the Americas and Europe because the surviving archival evidence does not offer this information. Certainly, we can compare a few prices of certain books bought in Europe and the same books sold after the death of their owners. However, we cannot ascertain with any certainty if a book bought in Mexico was significantly more expensive than it was in Valladolid.

### Control of Books through the Inquisitorial Indexes

The Inquisition was one of the core Spanish institutions charged with controlling religious orthodoxy. The effectiveness and power it had acquired in Europe paved the way for its foundation in New Spain in 1571. The religious and cultural customs of the indigenous inhabitants occupied the greater part of its attention during the second half of the sixteenth century, especially when those issues directly affected understanding of the Catholic religion. Increasingly, however, the attention of the Inquisition was drawn to imported books.

A remarkably large volume of documentation generated by the Inquisition in New Spain has survived, and covers the period from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century. The records reveal information on a wide range of offenses such as soliciting, blasphemy, bigamy, delusion, and heretical propositions. However, among the records are numerous references to the presence of different books that had caught the eye of the Inquisitors. These records were produced during various inquisitorial investigations, not least those carried out by the authorities on boxes of books that had arrived at the port of Veracruz. We also have letters, dating throughout this period, from merchants, booksellers and individuals requesting that the Inquisition release their boxes. In some cases, the only record is a letter that alludes to a list of books, the list itself having been lost. In other more fortunate instances, the request is found together

19 This information was found in a copy of Antonio de Nebrija's *Elegancias romançadas* (Antequera: herederos de Antonio de Nebrija, 1576), Biblioteca Universitaria de Valencia V/1450.

20 Guillermo Aulet Sastre, 'Precios autorizados de libros españoles en Indias', *Revista de Indias*, vol. VII, núm. 24 (1946), p. 312.

with the corresponding book list. Such 'bills' are the New World counterpart to the shipping registers preserved in the General Archive of the Indies.<sup>21</sup>

Print as a cultural and commercial phenomenon was valued positively from its arrival in Europe. However, it was not long before its potential for spreading unwelcome ideas, especially heretical ones, became evident. One of the measures developed for controlling ideas was the inquisitorial index from 1559 onwards. In the 1583 edition of the index, we find an interesting example of both the tone of the official discourse on banned books and the fear they evoked. Gaspar de Quiroga, General Apostolic Inquisitor, expressed it thus:

By secret judgements of heaven, divine providence has allowed that our eyes may see perilous times, of which the Apostle Paul (with his sovereign spirit) warned us, in which heretics, enemies of the Holy Apostolic Roman Catholic Church (for the insatiable hatred and fury with which they persecute it) attempt new ways and means of reviling it every day. And with this intention they seek to spread their cursed and condemned errors throughout the world to make all men (if they can) vessels of wrath and perdition as they themselves already are and their master Satan teaches them. And although it belongs to each one of the Catholic sons of this Holy Church to be rescued from such poison [...] the Heretics, to infect souls with their venom, for those who cannot be taught orally, have and are writing and publishing books, and treatises on diverse inventions, and materials, putting in them the errors of their harmful sect and doctrine, carrying them to various Kingdoms and Provinces, sometimes with plain words, and at other times covering and concealing their evil intentions, seeking to destroy the true Faith.<sup>22</sup>

We should not forget that this edition included the 'Rules, Commands and General Warnings' which were printed in the vernacular for the first time. This means that the text was the only one in an otherwise Latin work that could be read by a broader group of people with the necessary education. While the Inquisition never encouraged people to freely censor their own books, neither did it expressly prohibit them from doing so. As a result, many books from the period retain marks of personal 'censorship'. The 'rules' were intended to set

21 Joseph de Veitia Linaje, *Norte de la contratación de las Indias* (Sevilla: por Juan Francisco de Blas, 1672), libro II, cap. XVII, p. 197.

22 *Index et catalogus librorum prohibitorum* (Madrid: Apud Alphonsum Gomezium Regium Typographum, 1583) (USTC 338024), fol.2r–2v, Universidad de Sevilla, A Res. 12/5/06(1).

out the general outlines of censorship so that the faithful could identify the boundary between the permitted and the forbidden in their reading.

The procedure would begin with a complaint that could be reported by anyone who considered a certain portion or indeed a whole work to be offensive or dangerous. The complaint had to be assessed by the tribunal to which it was submitted. If it went forward, it was then sent to the Supreme Council in Madrid, where a final ruling was made. If the book was banned, it was then entered into the index, although works could and were found to be free from error. The publication of these instruments of control was not especially rapid, because of the complexity of the index, and the time required for the process of printing them. Edicts were employed to publish the bans more effectively, as these could be printed quickly, or if necessary could be published in the form of manuscripts.

The dispatch of the edicts to the various tribunals of the Inquisition in the New World represented both an effective apparatus for the exercise of power and a direct way of communicating with readers. The edicts record the arrival of a range of prohibited books in New Spain covering a variety of themes, including academic, religious and literary. Once an edict was received, it had to be proclaimed in public in the Archdiocese headquarters during the first Sunday sermon after its arrival, and the ceremony had to be distinguished by a special ritual. It was then copied and sent to every church in the territory. The priest in charge of each church then had to sign to certify not only that the edict was received, but also that it had been read out, leaving no possibility for anyone to claim that they had not known of its contents.

The wealth of documents held in the AGN includes an interesting collection of handwritten and printed edicts from the seventeenth century to the late nineteenth century, testifying to an ongoing vigilance. However, an analysis of their contents also reveals almost continual violations at every stage of the process; that is, from shipping banned books through the commercial networks, to selling them in bookstores, and lending them between individuals. Such behaviour was denounced in 1613 by Dr Blas de Velasco, an Inquisition prosecutor, who requested a mandate to renew inquisitorial penalties and censures in the Archbishopric of Mexico, and the Bishoprics of Oaxaca, Nueva Galicia, Michoacán, Tlaxcala, Yucatán, Guatemala, Chiapas, Verapaz, Honduras, Nicaragua, the Philippines 'and places nearby, by apostolic authority'.<sup>23</sup>

In the seventeenth century, three indexes of banned and expurgated books were published: in 1612, 1632 and 1640.<sup>24</sup> The first of these was compiled by the

23 AGN, Edictos, vol. 1, exp. 1 Ciudad de México, 23 October 1613.

24 Susana Cabezas Fontanilla, 'En torno a la impresión del catálogo de libros prohibidos y expurgados de 1612', *Documenta & Instrumenta*, vol. 3 (2005), pp. 7–30.

Grand Inquisitor Bernardo de Sandoval y Rojas, and included for the first time the 'Command to booksellers, agents and traders of books'.<sup>25</sup> This was a set of provisions that established controls on bookshops as points of direct sale. This inquisitorial command recognized the existence of a market conducted at stands or in stores, and which therefore required compliance by book agents, sellers and buyers of books. Those who traded books in any manner,

... within sixty day after publication of this Index, shall be obliged to carry out an inventory, or memorial, of all the books, that are in their charge, alphabetically, that shall begin by the names, and forenames of the authors, declaring the books that they have, and that they do not have others, and swearing it, and signing their names, and giving it to the Inquisitors [...] and to renew each year within the sixty days of the year, the aforesaid inventory, or memorial, of the books that they had before and are to sell, likewise of those that have again come into their possession which they have begun to trade the first year since 1614, making and giving it to him in the aforesaid form, under penalty of thirty ducats for the expenses of the Holy Office, for each of the aforesaid that they fail to fulfill.<sup>26</sup>

These instructions gave rise to a set of documents that have been preserved in Mexico, spanning the seventeenth to the early nineteenth century. Some of these booksellers' lists have been the subject of scholarly investigation.<sup>27</sup> More attention has been paid to those dated in the second half of the seventeenth century than for earlier periods, perhaps because they relate to well-known booksellers such as Paula de Benavides, or to bookstores with such a large stock as to exceed a thousand books. The information that the booksellers were required to supply was basic. The book lists carried only cursory information about the books for sale, making it difficult but not impossible to identify them. However, the information required by the Inquisition grew more detailed over time. Specific instructions began to require that the records also include the titles, printers and years of publication of the books.

25 Pedro Guibovich Pérez, *Censura, libros e inquisición en el Perú colonial, 1570–1754* (Sevilla: Universidad, 2003), p. 151.

26 *Index librorum prohibitorum et expurgatorum* (Madrid: apud Ludouicum Sanchez Typhograpum, 1612) (USTC 5007201), p. 8. Biblioteca Nacional de México RFO 016.0981 IND.i.1612.

27 O'Gorman, 'Bibliotecas y librerías coloniales, 1585–1694'. Enrique González González and Víctor Gutiérrez Rodríguez, 'Libros en venta en el México de Sor Juana y de Sigüenza, 1655–1660', in Carmen Castañeda (ed.), *Del autor al lector: Historia del libro en México* (México: CIESAS, Miguel Ángel Porrúa, 2002), pp. 103–132.

Notwithstanding such instructions, neither the booksellers nor the inquisitors seem to have been too concerned about strict compliance. This does not necessarily point to laxity or institutional corruption. An example is the document where the Inquisition *calificador* Cristóbal Arroyo reported on which of the books to be delivered to the authorities were missing. These books belonged to six different individuals and all titles registered were for private use.<sup>28</sup> In contrast, there is also an annotation by an inquisitorial *calificador* entitled 'Books to be asked for, of institutions, individuals and booksellers', a list of suspicious books found in various monasteries (e.g. at Tlalnepantla and Xochimilco) and in the possession of several friars and individuals, and another in the possession of Jerónimo de Avila, guardian of the Tianguistengo Convent.<sup>29</sup>

The oldest document that has survived to fulfill the requirements of the Inquisition, is a 1629 list from the store of Pedro Arias, with 43 items. The record includes titles, authors, place of printing, and publication years of the books. For example; 'f. Phelipe diaz sobre lugares de Scriptura. Salmanti. Year M.DXCIII'.<sup>30</sup> Another interesting document is that relating to the bookseller Bartolomé de Mata, who had a business beside the Hospital del Espíritu Santo. The list reports to the Inquisition on new and old books that he had acquired in Mexico since 1628.<sup>31</sup> The list contains brief records listing ninety-six titles, among which we find 'Orlando el furioso enmendado', 'farfan de medicina', 'ovidio metamorfocio', 'doctrina de bellarmino', and 'sermones en mexicano del padre anunciacion'. It includes both new books printed in New Spain and Europe, as well as second-hand books.

### 'Memorias de Libros'

Amongst the little studied items in the AGN, there are documents called 'memorias'. These lists were informal inventories of books made for both personal as well as commercial purposes. They did not have the same legal force as a document drafted by a notary or officer of oaths, but frequently they were used

28 'Los libros que faltan de traer de las memorias dadas cuando se publicó el expurgatorio de 1612', AGN, Inquisición 1570A, exp. 6o, 2 fol.

29 See Idem. núm. 41, fol. 29r–30r.; without number, fol. 60r–61v; and núm. 55, fol. 54r–57r.

30 AGN, Inquisición, volumen 363, expediente 35, fol. 301r–301v. It refers to Felipe Díaz's *Summa praedicantium ex omnibus locis communibus locupletissima* (Salmanticae: excudebat Joannes Ferdinandus, 1593) (USTC 335962). This work went through several editions before 1629.

31 AGN, Inquisición, 363, expediente 35, fol. 304v.

to register books in private and institutional libraries.<sup>32</sup> These documents, many of which are post-mortem inventories, offer important evidence of what was read or at least owned. Some of these documents were generated as a consequence of inquisitorial processes.<sup>33</sup>

The 1612 *Index*, besides asserting the obligation of booksellers to submit reports of the books they had for sale, also stated that they must keep the Inquisition's index in their stores, or be fined twenty ducats, so that they might know which books were banned and which must be expurgated. This same index also included a directive 'to those who bring books to these Kingdoms', which refers to the same restrictions and sets out the risks for anyone who traded in books without informing the officers of the Inquisition. Again, it repeats the booksellers' obligations, and the same issue also included a 'Command to printers' stipulating that they should not print books by condemned authors.

None of these instructions were directed at private individuals; that is, to those with private libraries. The same instructions that could be found in the 1612 *Index* were repeated in the 1620 edition issued by the Grand Inquisitor, Bernardo de Salvador y Rojas; it too makes no reference to the private sphere. It is in the 1632 *Index* issued by Grand Inquisitor Antonio Zapata where the first printed mention appears of 'old libraries' and of the danger presented by these books in passing from hand to hand without inquisitorial review. This *Index* made it obligatory to present a list of books owned by the deceased before they could be sold.

It is striking, therefore, that lists of books in private hands were submitted as early as 1612, when it would appear that only merchants were formally obliged to do so.<sup>34</sup> Some scholars have argued that the Inquisition enacted an edict in 1611, in that it required such lists.<sup>35</sup> We can find no evidence which would corroborate this. Although we must be conscious that these documents can only provide snapshots of collections at any given moment, they offer a fascinating

32 Nicolás de Yrolo, *La política de escrituras*, (México: UNAM, 1996), p. 275.

33 Idalia García, 'Before we are condemned: inquisitorial fears and private libraries of New Spain', in Natalia Maillard Álvarez (ed.), *Books in the Catholic World during the Early Modern Period* (Leiden: Brill, 2014), pp. 174–177.

34 This type of document was first identified in 1949 by Manuel Romero de Terreros, 'La biblioteca de Luis Lagarto', *Memorias de la Academia Mexicana de la Historia*, 8, núm. 1–4 (1949), pp. 353–385. Lagarto was a calligrapher from Seville who had become famous for making books for the choir of the Metropolitan Cathedral of Mexico City. He was the first in a line of book illuminators in New Spain, 'Memoria de los libros de Luis Lagarto', AGN, Indiferente Virreinal, Caja 4217, exp. 42, núm. 31, fol. 7r–10v.

35 Guillermo Tovar de Teresa, *Un rescate de la fantasía. El arte de los Lagarto, iluminadores novohispanos de los siglos XVI y XVIII* (Mexico: Ediciones El Equilibrista, 1988), p. 27.

insight into book ownership in this period, and a useful seam of evidence to complement our knowledge of the import trade.<sup>36</sup> These records may contain only a single item, such as that reporting a book held by Clemente de Chávez:

Of Francisco de Guzman, one, now newly corrected by Juan Dominguez de Millis, book printer, and at his cost in the year 1599. I have another one unbound, though am unaware of its author.<sup>37</sup>

The lists might equally refer to various books, such as those owned by Doctor Damián Gentil de Pariaga:

Ytem The works by Rodrigo Juares with his counsel, the works are from the year 1583 printed in Valladolid, apud Didacum Fernandez de Cordoba, the counsel is from the year 1599 printed in Madrid apud heredes Joannis Íñigues de Lequerica ex officina licentiati Vares a Castro.

Ytem Disputes of Fernando Vasques menehasense of the year 1564 in officina, apud Franciscum Fabrum, et Iacobum Stoer.

Ytem Juan Garcia de expensis et meliorationibus year 1592 printed Pini-cie, apud heredes a Bernardino Santo Dominico typographo.

Ytem Ídem Juanes Garcia de nobilitate, year 1597 printed Compluti, ex officina Joannis Gratiam apud viduam.

Ytem Curia Philipica de Juan de Ebia Volaño, of the year 1609 printed in Valladolid by Juan Godines de Millis.<sup>38</sup>

Another list of books was submitted by Francisco de Medina, who lived in the San Hipólito neighborhood and reported:

First a book of the rosary of our Lady by the author fray Francisco Messia printed in Seville in 1573.

Ytem and a book of Christian doctrine author Don fray Juan de Çumaraga first bishop of Mexico year m.dxliij.

Ytem and a book of all saints without beginning or end.

Ytem and a book called Tesoro de pobres author a doctor named Julian by petition of father Juan.

36 'Listas de libros presentados al Oficio de la Ynquisición en cumplimiento del Edicto de 1612', AGN, Indiferente Virreinal, Caja 4217, exp. 042.

37 Idem. núm. 29, fol. 4r.

38 Idem. núm. 32, fol. 11r.



Ytem and a book called Fuilles de amor y de las tribulaciones without beginning or end.

Ytem and a confessionary of doctrine [...] in Toledo at the house of Miguel Ferrer year one thousand five hundred seventy-five.

Ytem and some Fables of Aesop aput Seb. Grificon eugdum anno 1554 one art of Antonio and another by father Antonio Manuel Alvares print. in Mexico Antonio Ricardo year mdlxxxiv.

Ytem and three folders of merchandises, [pret.os], [sup.tos] and 4 items, one more Virgil.<sup>39</sup>

This last document is especially interesting for the information it provides about books printed in Mexico in the sixteenth century. As can be seen in the transcription above, a *Doctrina breve y muy provechosa de las cosas que pertenecen a nuestra cristiandad en estilo llano para común inteligencia* (*A Brief and very helpful Doctrine of the things pertaining to our christianity in plain style for the common intelligence*) by Juan de Zumárraga, printed by Juan Pablos in 1544, is recorded.<sup>40</sup> This is one of the first books published in New Spain that bibliographers have identified. The list also includes one of the books by Manuel Álvarez printed by the Jesuits on Antonio Ricardo's press, the first printer in Peru. The only known work that is consistent with this information is the *De octo constructione partium orationis*, printed by Antonio Ricardo in 1579 (USTC 351231).<sup>41</sup> It could be that it is a different edition or a recording error in the list.

Another interesting case are the books that Bachiller Antonio Caldera y Mendoza reported owning.<sup>42</sup> His list names 82 books, a collection put together in Europe and transported to the New World because of the nature of his profession. Most of the works dated from the sixteenth century, and were important legal texts published in Lyon. Such items would probably have been expensive and difficult to find in New Spain. Caldera's list, unlike many, includes sufficient information to allow the identification of most of the books. It is offered here to provide a snapshot of a book culture at a particular specific point in time:

39 Idem. núm. 37, fol. 21r.

40 Joaquín García Icazbalceta, *Bibliografía mexicana del siglo XVI* (México: FCE, 1954), pp. 62–65.

41 Rosa María Fernández de Zamora, *Los impresos mexicanos del siglo XVI: su presencia en el patrimonio cultural del nuevo siglo* (México: UNAM. Centro Universitario de Investigaciones Bibliotecológicas, 2009), p. 141.

42 'Listas de libros presentados al Oficio de la Ynquisición en cumplimiento del Edicto de 1612', núm. 38, fol. 22r–23v.

Works by Cobarrubias 1st 2nd and 3rd volume printed in London 1594<sup>43</sup>

Works by Antonio Gomez Leyes de Toro printed in Salamanca at the press of Andres Portonasy year 1560 and las bastas? printed in the same year 1552<sup>44</sup>

Pichardo on la instituta printed in Salamanca by Andres Renau and Juan Fernandez year 1600<sup>45</sup>

Works by Parladorio printed in Madrid at the royal bookstore at the expense of Francisco Robles year 1604.<sup>46</sup> And Las Deferencias printed in Valladolid year 1604 at the expense of the heirs of Juan Yñigues de la Puerica<sup>47</sup>

Works by Rebufeo Practica de verrbores significantes and three other volumes of different treatises printed in London by Guillermo Rovillo by license and privilege of the King of France year 1580<sup>48</sup>

Deportorio by Hugo de Celso printed in Medina del Campo by Juan Maria de Terranova and Jacome Liarcari year 1553<sup>49</sup>

Bartulos printed in the city of Toro by the heirs of Nicolas Velslaque year 1577 under license from the Supreme Pontiff and the King of Castile and the King of France<sup>50</sup>

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- 43 Diego Covarrubias y Leyva, *Omnia opera multo quam prius emendatiora, ac multis in locis auctiora...* (Lugduni: ex officina Iunctarum, 1594) (USTC 137185).
- 44 Antonio Gómez, *Opus praeclarum & Commentum super legibus Tauri* (Salmanticae: excudebat Andreas à Portonariis, 1552) (USTC 336567).
- 45 Antonio Pichardo Vinuesa, *Satisfactionis et clausulae iudicatum solui, extemporalis disputatio, ad explicacionem difficilis ac inaccessi, I.C.T. responsi lib. 27 ad edictum prouinciale in I. si ante acceptum iudicium VII D. iudicatū solui petitoribus perpetuae cathedrae digesti novi* (Salmanticae: excudebat Andreas Renaut, 1600) (USTC 341071). This edition has a printer's mark of Juan Fernández.
- 46 Juan Yáñez Parladorio, *Rerum quotidianarum libri duo* (Matriti: ex typographia Regia: expensis Francisci de Robles, 1604, apud Ioannem Flandrum) (USTC 5008052).
- 47 Juan Yáñez Parladorio, *Quotidianarum differentiarum sesquicenturia, cui vt commentarius in iustum cresceret volumen, adiectae sunt eiusdem authoris quæstiones duodeuiginti, & epistolæ tres ad filios. Vtere ergo et fruiere candide lector: quid enim iucundiūs, quam alienis frui laboribus* (Vallisoleti: apud Hæredes Ioannis Iñigez a Lequerica, 1604) (USTC 5009486).
- 48 Pierre Rebuffi, *Praxis beneficiorum... cui apposuimus Bullam Coenæ Domini* (Lugduni: apud Gulielmum Rouillium, 1580) (USTC 141755).
- 49 Celse Hugues Descousu, *Reportorio vniuersal de todas las leyes destos Reynos de Castilla abreuadas y reduzidas en forma de reportorio decisiuo* (Medina del Campo: por Iuan Maria de Terranova y Iacome de Liarcari, 1553) (USTC 335241).
- 50 Bartolo da Sassoferrato, *In primam codicis partem commentaria* (Augustae Taurinorum: apud hæredes Nicolai Bevilacqua, 1577) (USTC 812564).

Works by Paulo de Castro printed in the town of Toro by the heirs of Velasque year 1566<sup>51</sup>

Abades printed in London at the expense of Philipos Tingis florentino by royal privilege year 1578<sup>52</sup>

Works by flores días de mana Variarum questionus printed in Medina del Campo at the press of Juan godines year 1603<sup>53</sup>

Curia Philipica de Bolaño printed in Valladolid printed by Juan Godines de Millez year 1609<sup>54</sup>

Instituta by Aldo Brandino printed in London year 1547 by Antonio Vincencio<sup>55</sup>

Consilio tridentino printed in Venice 1599 by Domingo Farro<sup>56</sup>

decisiones by Guido printed in London at the press of Antonio Blancardo year 1528<sup>57</sup>

Pedro de Dueñas de Regulis iuris printed in Salamanca by Andres de Portonarys year 1544<sup>58</sup>

Concordancias by Olano printed in Burgos apud Philippum Junta anno 1575<sup>59</sup>

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- 51 We have only found the following edition, published ten years after it was recorded in the list: Paolo de Castro, Pauli Castrensis. *In primam Infortiati partem commentaria. Ex vetustissimis exemplaribus quoad fieri potuit, repraesentata* (Augustae Taurinorum: apud haeredes Nicolai Beuilaque, 1576) (USTC 846649).
  - 52 Niccolò de Tudeschi, *In secundum librum decretalium epistolarum, commentaria seu lecture* (Lugduni: sumptibus Philippi Tinghi, Florentini cum priuilegio Regis, 1578) (USTC 138848).
  - 53 Blas Flórez Díez de Mena, *Recentiorem practicarum quaestionum Iuris Canonici et Ciuilis ad praxim vtriusque fori spectantium libri tres* (Metina à Campi: apud Ioannem Godinez de Millis, 1603) (USTC 5006313).
  - 54 Juan de Hevia Bolaños, *Curia Philippica donde... se trata de los iuyzios, mayormente forenses, ecclesiasticos, y seculares* (En Valladolid: por Juan Godinez de Millis, 1609) (USTC 5013437).
  - 55 *Institutiones iuris, D. Iustiniani sacratis. principis prima legum cunabula... Silvestro Aldo-brandini annotationibus illustrata* (Lugduni: apud Antonium Vincentium, 1553) (USTC 151341).
  - 56 Concilio de Trento (1545–1563), *Concilium Tridentinum sub Paulo III. Iulio III. et Pio IIII* (Venetiis: apud Dominicum de Farris, 1599) (USTC 337225).
  - 57 *Decisiones parlamenti Dalphinalis Gratianopolis per excellentissimum iuris utriusque monarcham do. Guidonem Pape dum viveret in dicta curia senatorem* (Lugduni: sumptu Guilelmi Boulle, in edibus Antonii Blanchard, 1528) (USTC 155777).
  - 58 An other mistake or a different edition: Pedro de Dueñas, *Regularum vtriusque iuris cum ampliacionibus ac limitationibus liber primus...* (Salmanticae: apud Andrean à Portonariis, 1554) (USTC 336045).
  - 59 Juan Martínez de Olano, *Concordia et noua reductio antinomiarum iuris comunis, ac regij Hispaniarum* (Burgis: apud Philippum Iuntam, 1575) (USTC 339835).

Pratica by Jerola printed in London year 1556 at the expense of Oracio Cardon<sup>60</sup>

Juan Fabro on la Instituta printed in London by Juan Mondovar and Benedicto Goudin year 1523<sup>61</sup>

Comunes opiniones by Villalobos printed in London year 1567<sup>62</sup>

Flaminio de Regnatie beneficis in Venice by the heir of Geronimo Scoto year 1595<sup>63</sup>

Girona on Alcavalas printed in Madrid by the widow of Pedro Medripar year 1594<sup>64</sup>

Speculadores printed in Venice year 1587<sup>65</sup>

Lassarte on Alcabalas printed in Madrid by the widow of Pedro Madrigal year 1599 years<sup>66</sup>

Angulo en el titulo de las mejoras printed in Madrid by the widow of Alonso Gomes year 1585<sup>67</sup>

Works by Hipolito de Marsilis printed in Lyon by Jacobo Giunta year 1545<sup>68</sup>

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- 60 We consider that this record is wrong because Horatius Cardon did not begin until 1566, ten years later. Information available at [http://www.bib.ub.edu/fileadmin/impressors/home\\_eng.htm](http://www.bib.ub.edu/fileadmin/impressors/home_eng.htm) [Accessed October 2014].
- 61 We have found a printer named Benedictu, Benedicti Bonyn, and Benoît Bonyn but not the other. This edition was not located.
- 62 Juan Bautista Villalobos, *Communes sententiae siue opiniones iurisconsultorum e iuris caesarei, & pontificii fontibus haustae, ac summo studio & fide explicatae. In quibus varia prudentum responsa, quaestiones* (Lugduni: ad Salamandrae in vico Mercatorio, 1567) (USTC 113454).
- 63 Flaminio Parisio, *De resignatione beneficiorum tractatus, complectens totam fere praxim beneficiariam* (Venetiis: apud Haeredem Hieronymi Scoti, 1595) (USTC 846819).
- 64 García de Girona, *Tractatus de gabellis, regibus Hispaniae debit. Omnibus l.c. tum vero his qui in foro versantur utilissimus* (Madrیتی: apud viduam Petri Madrigal, a costa de Esteuna Bogia, mercader de libros, 1594) (USTC 336524).
- 65 Bartholomaeus Sibylla (O.P.), *Speculum peregrinarum quaestionum* (Venetiis: apud Marcus Antonium Zalterium, 1587) (USTC 856172).
- 66 Ignacio Lasarte y Molina, *Ignatii Lassarte et Molina De decima venditionis & permutationis quae Alcauala nuncupatur liber uno* (Madrیتی: apud viduam Petri Madrigal, 1599) (USTC 339400).
- 67 Andrés Angulo, *Commentaria ad leges regias melioriorum* (Madrیتی: apud viduam Alfonsi Gomezii, 1585) (USTC 334336).
- 68 Ippolito Marsili, *Consiliorum criminalium* (Lugduni: apud Jacobum Giuntam, 1545) (USTC 149322).

Works by Father Cerda of the Company of Jesus printed in Seville Rodrigo de Cabrera year 1598<sup>69</sup>

Maranta de ordine iudiciorum by the heirs of Jacobo Gunta printed in London year 1544<sup>70</sup>

Pinelo de bonis maternis in London by the heirs of Jacobo Gunta year 1556<sup>71</sup>

Juan Ferrara Montañó de Regulis iuris printed in London by Vincertio Portunario year 1537 years<sup>72</sup>

Ripa de peste printed in London year 1522 by Jacobo Sacon<sup>73</sup>

Gomes Arias en las Leyes de Toro printed in the town of Toro by Geronimo de Millis year 1546<sup>74</sup>

Curia pissana de Asevedo printed in Salamanca by brothers Joan and Andres Renaur year 1587<sup>75</sup>

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- 69 There are at least two titles with this information: Melchor de la Cerda, *Apparatus latini sermonis per Topographiam, Chronographiam & Prosopographiam, perque locos communes, ad Ciceronis normam exactus* (Hispani: excudebat Rodericus Cabrera, 1598) (USTC 335622) and *Vsus et exercitatio demonstrationis & ejusdem variae multiplicisque formae imago, suis exercitationibus, & integris orationibus* (Hispani: excudebat Rodericus Cabrera, 1598) (USTC 335624).
- 70 We have only located this edition from ten years later, Roberto Maranta, *Tractatus de ordine iudiciorum, vulgò Speculum aureum, & lumen aduocatorum* (Lugduni: apud hæredes Iacobi Iuntæ, 1554) (USTC 154256).
- 71 There is probably an error in this entry. Ayres Pinhel, *Ad constitutiones Cod. de bonis maternis doctissimi amplissimique commentarij* (Lugduni: apud hæredes Iacobi Iuntæ, 1566) (USTC 120914).
- 72 Johannes Ferrarius, *Ad titulum Pandectarum, De Regulis iuris, integer commentarius* (Imprimebatur Lugduni: Vincent de Portonariis, 1537) (USTC 122353).
- 73 Giovanni Francesco da Ripa, *Celeberrimi atque acutissimi iureconsulti Do. Jo. Francisci de Sancto Nazario dicti de Ripa ... iura interpretantis in Florenti academia Auenionensi de Peste libri tres* (Lione: Vincenzo Portonari; Impressum fuit presens opus in ciuitate Lugduni: per solertem impressorem magistrum Jacobum Saccon, 1522 die 17. decembris) (USTC 155561).
- 74 We found this edition printed by Fernando Gómez Arias, *Glosa d[e] doctor Gomez Arias d[e] Talauera: Subtilissima necnon valde vtilis glosa ad ... leges Tauri, edita per... Ferdinandum Gomez Arias de Talauera* ([Compluti]: prostant apud G. de Millis, 1546) (USTC 336526).
- 75 Juan Rodríguez de Pisa, *Tractatus de Curia Pisana, de origine decurionum... quibus scatebat vitij & corruptionibus cum summarijs & reportorio & additionibus per Doctorem Alphonsum de Azeuedo...* (Salmanticae: apud Ioannem & Andream Renaut, fratres: expensis Octauiani Parente bibliopolae, 1587) (USTC 334043).

Leyes de Partida printed in Salamanca by Andres Portonarys year 1565<sup>76</sup>  
 Vicencio Carocio de Iuramento Litis decissisorio printed in Venice by  
 Damian Zenario year 1595<sup>77</sup>  
 Sebastian de Monticola in Instituta by Laurencio Pasquato year 1560<sup>78</sup>  
 Catechism of Pius fifth printed in Medina del campo by Cristobal de Cato  
 year 1604<sup>79</sup>  
 Cagnolo de Regulis iuris printed in London by Jacobo Giunta year 1556<sup>80</sup>  
 Nicolao Vigelio printed in London year 1571 by Jacobo Gunta<sup>81</sup>  
 Singularia doctores printed in London year 1543 by Jacobo Gunta<sup>82</sup>  
 Works and advice by Rodrigo Suares printed in Madrid by Juan Innigues  
 Lequerica year 1599<sup>83</sup>  
 Opuscula honcala printed in Salamanca by Andres de Portonarys year  
 1543<sup>84</sup>

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- 76 *Las Siete Partidas del sabio Rey don Alonso el Nono nueuamente glosadas por... Gregorio Lopez* (En Salamanca: en casa de Andrea de Portonarijs, 1565) (USTC 338206).
- 77 Vincenzo Carocci, *Tractatus luculentus de iuramento litis decisorio* (Venetiis: apud Damianum Zenarium, 1595) (USTC 819069).
- 78 Lorenzo Pasquato was active between 1562 and 1621 in Padua, but this edition was not found.
- 79 *Catechismus ex decreto sacro-Sancti Concilii Tridentini, iussu Pii v Pontif. Maximi editus...* (Methymnae Campi: apud Christophorum Lasso & Franciscum Garcia: expensis Ildephonsi Perez, 1604) (USTC 5022203).
- 80 Perhaps Girolamo Cagnolo, *Commentarii in titulum. ff. de Reg. Iur.* (Lugduni: apud haeredes Iacobi Iuntae, 1559) (USTC 152607).
- 81 The oldest edition printed by Giunta seems to be Nicolaus Vigelius, *Methodus iuris ciuilis Nicolai Vigelii iuricons. absolutissima. In qua non solum omnes Iuris* (Lugduni: apud haeredes Iacobi Iuntae, 1565) (USTC 158014).
- 82 *Moralia Gregorij. Sancti Gregorii magni Ecclesie doctoris precipui liber moralium in beatum Iob, singulari sagacitate, consummataque opera per capitula distinctus, adiectisque non paucis Biblie concordantijs illustratus, et per fratrem Ioannem Lagrenum sacre theologie professorem castigatus, necnon additionibus marginalibus locupletatus, cum duplici directorio tam in sententiis quam in materias contexto.* (Lugduni: apud Iacobum Giunta, 1546; 1543) (USTC 120777).
- 83 Rodrigo Suárez, *Consilia B. Roderici Suarez... post eius obitum inuenta & de nouo in lucem edita, in gratiam iudicum & aduocatorum, cum indice rerum copiosissimo* (Matri: apud haeredes Joannis Iñiguez de Lequerica : ex officina et expensis licenciati Varez à Castro, 1599) (USTC 341981).
- 84 Another likely transcription error. Antonio Honcala, *Opuscula septendecim lectu digna, sex & quinquaginta tractatibus absoluta, variaque doctrina referta...* (Salmanticae: excudebat Andreas à Portonariis, 1553) (USTC 339149).

Works by Duareno printed in Paris by Audreno Parcio year 1550<sup>85</sup>  
 Menoquio de presumptonibe printed in London by Guillermo Rovillo  
 year 1588<sup>86</sup>  
 Sarmiento by Reditibus printed in Burgos by Filipo Junta year 1573<sup>87</sup>  
 Instituta cuul enre printed in Tolossa by Gruon Vodauela year 1551<sup>88</sup>  
 Baldo on feudalism printed in London by Jacobo Bertono year 1578<sup>89</sup>  
 Instituta by Justiniani printed in London year 1587 by Guillermo Rovillo<sup>90</sup>  
 Copy Verborus  
 Elegantias by Bala printed in London by Jofre Beringa year 1541<sup>91</sup>  
 Civil law printed in Venice year 1521<sup>92</sup>  
 Canon law printed in London year 1584<sup>93</sup>  
 Virgil  
 Romma de Ajon printed in france year 1532<sup>94</sup>

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- 85 François Duaren, *Opera quae ad hunc diem edita sunt, omnia quorum, catalogum proximae pagellae indicabunt* (Parisiis: apud Audoneum Paruum, via ad diuum Iacobum, sub Lilio aureo, 1550) (USTC 150653).
- 86 Giacomo Menochio, *Commentariorum de praesumptionibus, coniecturis, signis, & indiciis, pars prima, non antehac in lucem edita: varia, recondita perfectaue eruditione referta, & omnibus iudicia praesertim exercentibus, oppido quam necessaria* (Lugduni: apud Gulielmum Rouillium, 1588) (USTC 125585).
- 87 Francisco Sarmiento de Mendoza, *Selectarum interpretationum libri tres et De redditibus ecclesiasticis liber unus* (Burgis: apud Philippum Iuntam, 1573) (USTC 345899).
- 88 There are at least two titles from the printer Guido Boudevillaueus, *Las Instituciones Imperiales (o Principios del Derecho Ciuil) dirigidas al Principe Don Philippe nuestro señor traduzidas por Bernardino Daza*. (Tolosa: por Guion Bodauila, 1551) (USTC 340494); Antonio Gouvea, *De iurisdictione libri 2. aduersus Equinarium Baronem iureconsultum* (Tolosae: apud Ioannem de Fleurs in via Arietinae Portae, 1551; Excudebat Tolosae : Guido Boudevillaueus, 1551 mense Decembri) (USTC 111907).
- 89 The first edition that we have found and which this might be is Baldo degli Ubaldi, *Opvs avrevm vtrivsque lvmis domini Galdi de perusio super feudis cu[m] addicionibus... D. Andreae Barbaciae & aliorum clarissimorum doctorum* (Lugduni: tippis ac caracteribus Jacobi Berioni, 1542) (USTC 140758).
- 90 *Imp. Caes. Iustiniani Institutionum libri IIII... Ad haec Leges XII Tabular. explicatae; Vlpiani tit. XXIX, selectis notis adornati; Caij lib. II. Institutionum* (Lugduni: Apud Gulielmum Rouillium, 1587) (USTC 142454).
- 91 We have only located the Paris edition from this year, Lorenzo Valla, *De latinae linguae elegantia* (Parisiis: ex officina Rob. Stephani, 1541) (USTC 140155).
- 92 Corpus juris civilis. This edition was not located.
- 93 *Corpus juris canonici*. (Lugduni: Gulielmum Rovillium, 1584) (USTC 142090).
- 94 This edition was not located.

Soto de iustitia et iure y quarta del arte Sentencis printed in Salamanca year 1559 by Juan Bautista Terranova<sup>95</sup>

Navarro de penitencia printed in London by Pedro Fradino year 1559<sup>96</sup>

Suma artie notariatus printed in Toro by Domingo de Toro year 1598<sup>97</sup>

Todo en la Copia in Madrid year 1578 by Juan Graciano<sup>98</sup>

Decisiones tolosanas printed year 1507 London by Antonio de Riu<sup>99</sup>

Reglas by Bernardo Oras de lugo in London by Jacobo de Millis year 1566<sup>100</sup>

Roberto Maranta in London by Jacobo Gunta year 1544<sup>101</sup>

Valerio Máximo printed in London by Melchior and Gaspar Tesuhes year 1533<sup>102</sup>

Regule cancellarie by Gomedo in London by Guiliermo Rovillo year 1575<sup>103</sup>

Pane de puteo de sindicatu printed year 1533 by Vicentino de Portonariis in Paris<sup>104</sup>

Bellum lugurthinus by Juan Sielsio year 1564<sup>105</sup>

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- 95 Domingo de Soto, *Fratris Dominici Soto Segobiensis Theologi ordinis Praedicatorum... De Iustitia & Iure libri decem nunc primum...* (Salmanticae: apud Ioannem Moreno bibliopolam, 1559 in officina Ioannis Mariae à Terranoua) (USTC 341881).
- 96 We have only found an edition from ten years later, Martín Azpilcueta, *Commentarii in tres de poenitentia distinctiones posteriores, videlicet 5. 6. et 7.* (Excusi Lugduni: in aedibus Petri Fradini typographi, 1569) (USTC 140595).
- 97 We only have found this edition eight years before, Rolandino de Passeggeri. *Summa artis notariae* (Augustae Taurinorum: Apud Io. Dominicum Tarinum, 1590) (USTC 852901).
- 98 This edition was not located.
- 99 Estéfano Aufrerius, *Decisões Capelle Tholosane: decisiones materiarrum quotidianarum et quotidie in practica* (Lugduni: Jacques Myt: Simon Vincent, 1516) (USTC 144555).
- 100 We have found only one edition with this information, Juan Bernardo Díaz de Lugo, *Regulae octingentæ numero: cum suis ampliacionibus, et restrictionibus ex uarijs codicibus excerptæ, omnibus utriusque iuris professoribus non minus necessariae, quàm utiles, nunc primum in lucem æditæ, fœliciter incipiunt*, (Lugduni: apud Gulielmum, et Iacobum de Millis, 1546) (USTC 115021).
- 101 Probably another transcription error for Roberto Maranta, *Tractatus de ordine iudiciorum, vulgo speculum aureum & lumen aduocatorum...* (Lugduni: apud haeredes Iacobi Iuntæ, 1554) (USTC 154256).
- 102 Publio Valerio Máximo, *Illustrium exemplorum ad uirtutes & uitia dignoscenda...* (Lugduni: in aedibus Melchioris et Gasparis Trechsel fratrum, 1533) (USTC 154843).
- 103 *Regulae Cancellariae Apostolicae*. (Lugduni: s.l., 1545) (USTC 149472).
- 104 We have found this edition, Paris (de Puteo), *Materia de formatione libelli contra potestatem in Sindicatu* (Lugduni: Vicentium de Portonaris, 1529) (USTC 146042).
- 105 In this year we have found an edition but it is not be the printer Giovanni Salis, Cayo Salustio Crispo, *Coniuratio Catilinae, et Bellum Iugurthinum* (Antuerpiae: ex officina Christophori Plantini, 1564) (USTC 401149).



Suma de grammatica printed in Mexini year 1560 by Balli<sup>106</sup>  
 Vocabulario iuris printed in London in the bookstore of Jacobo Junta year 1599<sup>107</sup>  
 Un arte part in Greek missing the beginning  
 Rolandino bonamense de ultima voluntad from a printed copy in Paris year 1509<sup>108</sup>  
 Pragmatica sanctionus de cosme by Grummier printed in Paris by Antonio Vincencio year 1538<sup>109</sup>  
 Practica by Matander printed in Venice by Bartolome Rubino year 1557<sup>110</sup>  
 Ovidio Metamorphoseos printed<sup>111</sup>  
 Suma de Ostiense printed in Venice year 1574 by Jacobo Vidal<sup>112</sup>  
 Ovidio de Tristibus printed in Venice year 1574<sup>113</sup>  
 Paleoto de nothis, et spurip printed in Franca forte year 1597 by Nicholas Basseo<sup>114</sup>  
 Morquecho de bonise divisiones printed in Madrid by the heirs of Juan Íñigues Lequerica year 1601<sup>115</sup>  
 Fuero Real de España (Royal Charter of Spain) printed in Burgos year 1533 by Juan de Junta florentino<sup>116</sup>

106 Not recorded by any bibliographer.

107 *Vocabularium vtriusque iuris: nuperrimè summa cura summoque iudicio recognitum ac emendatum...* (Lugduni: apud haeredes Iacobi Iuntae : Iacobus Forus excudebat, 1559) (USTC 152775).

108 Rolandino de Passeggeri, *Flores vltimarum voluntatum non sine sudore collecti per dominum Rolandinum Bononiensem* (Parrhisij: expensis magistri Bertholdi Rembolt et Joha[n]nis Uvaterloes, 1509) (USTC 182957).

109 Cosme Guymier, *Pragmatica sanctio studiosis utilissima cum concordatis* (Impressa Lugd[uni]: sumptibus ... Antonij Vincentij : apud Mathĩa bonhome, 1538) (USTC 112963).

110 We have found two editions by the Venetian printer Bartholomaei Rubini with the title 'Practica'; one of Pietro Follerio and other of Ippolito Marsilli. We consider that this entry is wrong because Rubini was active after 1566.

111 P. Ouidii Nasonis Metamorphoseon. This title could match a large number of possible editions.

112 Enrico da Susa, *Summa aurea, ad vetustissimos codices summa fide diligentiaque nunc primum collata* (Venetiis: apud Iacobum Vitalem, 1574) (USTC 828137).

113 We have not found a Venetian edition from this date.

114 Gabriele Paleotti, *De nothis spurisque, filiis, tractatus singularis* (Francoforti: ex officina typographica Nicolai Bassaei, 1597) (USTC 658536).

115 Pedro Sanz Morquecho, *Tractatus de bonorum diuisione amplissimus omnibus iuris studiosis maximè vtilis, & necessarius* (Matriti: apud haeredes Ioannis Íñiguez à Lequerica: expensis Licentiatì Varez à Castro, 1601) (USTC 5006510).

116 *El fuero Real de España diligentemente hecho por el noble Rey don Alonso x glosado por... Alonso dñaz de Montalvo* (Impresso en Burgos: por Iuan de Junta, 1533) (USTC 351064).

Andreas Tiraquello en la Ley et unquam printed in London year 1549 by Guillermo Rovillo<sup>117</sup>

Practica by Bernardo Díaz printed by the aforesaid Guillermo year 1541<sup>118</sup>

Dino de Regulis iuris printed in London by Nicolas Parvo year 1540<sup>119</sup>

El Padre Molina de rustica et iure printed in Venice year 1602 apud societatis minimal<sup>120</sup>

El Padre Tomas Sanches printed in Venice by Juan Antonio year 1606.<sup>121</sup>

On the death of the owner, such works would have been sold at public auction – yet another way in which European publications circulated in New Spain.

Taken as a whole, the material available at the AGN is an invaluable source. Despite being well preserved, its contents have gone virtually unnoticed by most scholars researching the culture of books in New Spain. Yet, the great and diverse range of documents it contains, offers a very direct sense of the social impact of the discourse on banned books. While there were multifarious efforts at controlling and monitoring the book trade in New Spain, books did circulate. Booksellers sold their wares, albeit with some risk and fear. Readers read, despite the sharp eyes turned on them.

117 André Tiraqueau, *Commentariorum de utroque retractu, & municipali, & conuentionali. Secunda editio cum eiusdem multis additionibus & castigationibus* (Lugduni: apud Gulielmum Rouillium, 1549) (USTC 157810).

118 Given this information, the closest edition seems to be Juan Bernardo Díaz de Lugo, *Practica criminalis canonica, in qua omnia ferè flagitia, quae à clericis committi possunt, cum eorum poenis describuntur. Quae his notis* (Lugduni: apud Gulielmum Rouillium, 1554) (USTC 115256).

119 Dino del Mugello, *Dynus de reg. iu. Commentarius mirabilis super titulo de regulis iuris* (Lugduni: apud Nicolaum Parvum, 1540) (USTC 147738).

120 Luis de Molina, *De Iustitia: tomus primus* (Venetiis: apud Societatem Minimam, 1602) (USTC 4030855).

121 Tomás Sánchez, *Disputationum de Sancto matrimonii sacramento* (Venetiis: apud Ioan-nem Antonivm & Iacobum de Franciscis, 1606) (USTC 4032809).

## Women and the Iberian Book Trade, 1472–1650

*Alejandra Ulla Lorenzo*

Only around 2 per cent of Iberian books published between 1472 and 1600 make explicit mention – either on the title page or in the colophon – of the participation of women in their production, editing or distribution. This percentage increased very substantially in the first half of the seventeenth century to 4.9 per cent.<sup>1</sup> We know for certain that women operated as printers, as book merchants, and as *libreras* – publishers who commissioned and financed works. We cannot, however, always rely on statements in the books themselves. Some women – as indeed some of their male counterparts – almost certainly delegated responsibility to a relative or a senior journeyman.<sup>2</sup> Equally, just because a woman was not mentioned in an imprint did not necessarily signify that she had no involvement. Behind many works that carried male names lay the activity of a woman. In some cases, for instance, there was a desire to maintain continuity and brand recognition following the death of the head of a printing house. Women also contributed in a range of other unsung ways to the publishing culture of the age, not least as illuminators and engravers (Figure 4.1).<sup>3</sup>

The boundaries between roles in the publishing industry were often blurred, and we can find examples of women who were book merchants but also publishers. One of the most notable examples in this respect was María de Ávila (Figure 4.2). María was the widow of the Madrid publisher and bookseller Blas

1 In the period from 1472 to 1600, around 20,000 books were published in Spain, Portugal and the New World or elsewhere in Spanish or Portuguese. Between 1601 and 1650, around 45,000 Iberian books were published. The global figures have been taken from the Iberian Books project based at University College Dublin (hereafter Iberian Books). See Alexander S. Wilkinson (ed.), *Iberian Books / Libros ibéricos (IB). Books Published in Spanish or Portuguese or on the Iberian Peninsula before 1601* (Leiden: Brill, 2010), and Alexander S. Wilkinson & Alejandra Ulla Lorenzo (eds.), *Iberian Books Volumes II & III. Books published in Spain, Portugal and the New World or elsewhere in Spanish or Portuguese between 1601 and 1650* (2 vols., Leiden: Brill, 2015). Iberian Books is also available online at <http://iberian.ucd.ie>.

2 This point is made by Susan Broomhall for France. See her *Women and the Book Trade in Sixteenth-Century France* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002), p. 64.

3 The most remarkable example is that of Anna Heylan. See Juan Manuel Lizagarra, 'Mujeres en la Biblioteca Histórica: Anna Heylan, María Eugenia de Beer y María Luisa Morales, tres grabadoras españolas del siglo XVII', *Folio Complutense, Noticias de la Biblioteca Histórica de la UCM* (Universidad Complutense de Madrid, 17 March 2010).



FIGURE 4.1 Francisco Bermúdez de Pedraza, *El hospital real de la corte de enfermos* (Madrid, s.n., 1645) (USTC 5011268).<sup>4</sup>

4 This reproduction is taken from the copy in the Biblioteca Histórica Marqués de Valdecilla, BH FG 1786. My thanks to the library for permission to reproduce this and other illustrations of books in this chapter.

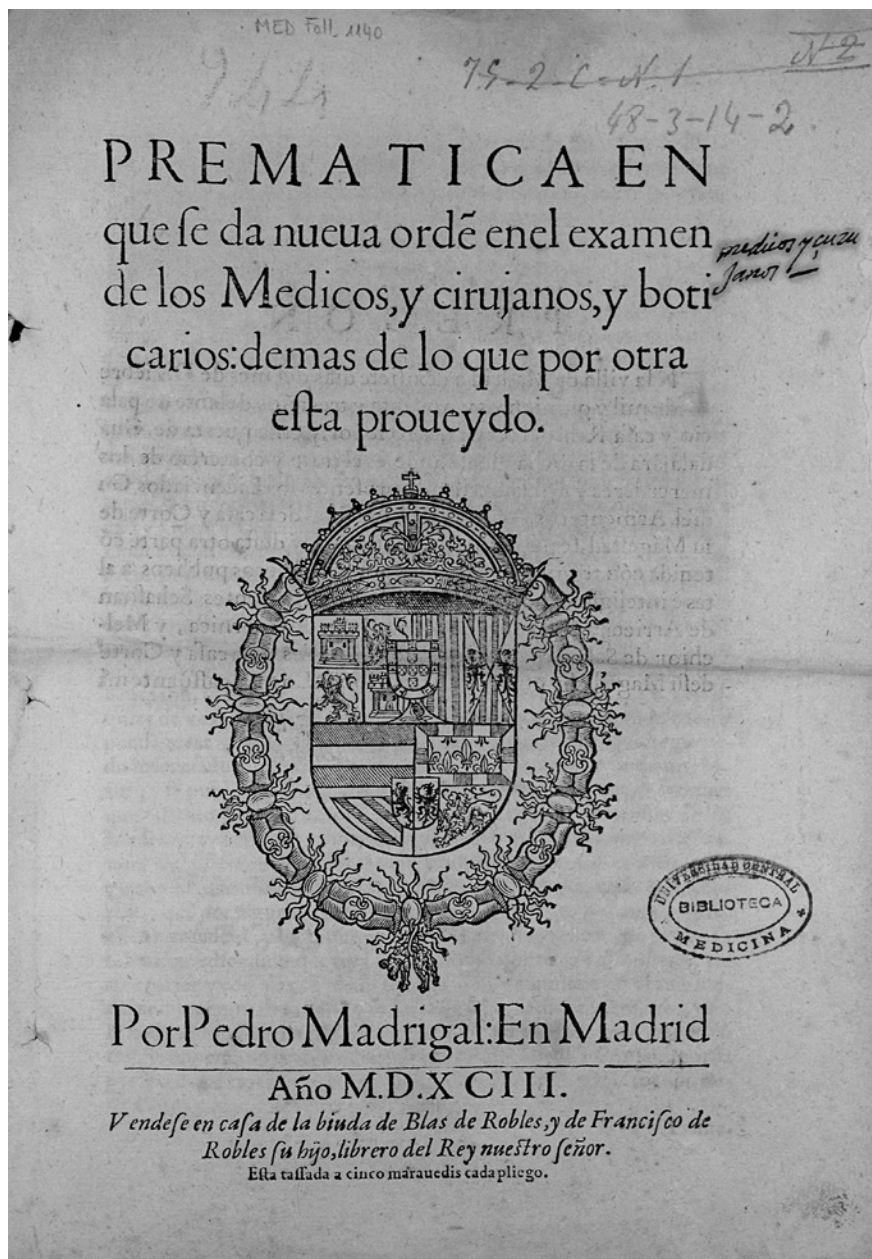


FIGURE 4.2 Premática en que se da nueva orden en el examen de los médicos y cirujanos y boticarios demás de lo que por otra está proveído (Madrid, en casa de Pedro Madrigal, véndese en casa de la viuda de Blas de Robles, y de Francisco de Robles su hijo, librero del Rey nuestro señor, 1593) (USTC 338733).<sup>5</sup>

5 The image is of the copy in the Biblioteca Histórica Marqués de Valdecilla, BH MED Foll.1140.

de Robles and mother of Francisco de Robles. She took control over the family business after the death of her husband, as can be seen on the imprints of some 50 books printed between 1593 and 1602, such as Alfonso de Acevedo's *Commentariorum iuris civilis in Hispaniae regias constitutiones, quartum librum novae recopilationis complectens tomus secundus* (Madrid, Pedro Madrigal a costa de la viuda de Blas de Robles y Francisco de Robles su hijo, 1595) (USTC 334039). From the outset, she also worked closely with her son.

The way certain roles in the publishing business were expressed on imprints can sometimes disguise actual responsibilities. Moll, for example, has noted that the label 'véndese en' (sold in), can sometimes be used interchangeably for 'a costa de' (at the expense of). Some women referred to as the bookseller, may in truth have been responsible for financing the edition.<sup>6</sup> It is, therefore, sometimes difficult to be precise about the true roles of certain women, unless – as we do in the case of the widow of Blas de Robles – we have more information than simply the raw statements on the printed edition itself. However, not all imprint information is misleading. Take, for instance, the case of the widow Manescal, probably Miguel Manescal, for whom we have evidence only for the year 1649. She acted, according to the imprint, as both bookseller and publisher.<sup>7</sup>

The case of Esperanza Francisca Torrellas is similar. She acted in some cases as a publisher, as in Juan de Santo Tomás's *Artis logicae secunda pars in praedicabilia praedicamenta libros perihermenios & posteriorum* (Madrid, ex officina Caroli Sanchez a costa de Esperanza Francisca, 1640) (USTC 5014932). In other instances, she is referred to explicitly as a bookseller, as on Enrique de Villalobos' *Manual de confesores* (Madrid, por María de Quiñones, a costa de Esperanza Francisca, véndese en su casa enfrente del colegio de Atocha, y en palacio, 1643) (USTC 5006587). In addition, in 1636, she purchased the printing shop which Diego Flamenco had left to his son following his death, although she immediately sold it to Juan Sánchez on the condition that he would count on her for any printing work.<sup>8</sup>

6 Jaime Moll, *Problemas bibliográficos del libro en el Siglo de Oro* (Madrid: Arco Libros, 2011), p. 66.

7 Bernardo de Paredes, *Campaña espiritual ordenada con plumas de santos y de intérpretes sagrados para conquistar el alma dispuesta desde el primer domingo de adviento hasta la quinquagésima* (Barcelona, por la viuda de Jaime Matevad vendese en la librería en casa de la viuda de Manescal y a su costa, 1649) (USTC 5008941).

8 Mercedes Agulló y Cobo, *La imprenta y el comercio de libros en Madrid (siglos XVI–XVIII)* (Unpublished doctoral thesis, Universidad Complutense, 1991), p. 93.

A final, perhaps very unusual example is that of Jerónima Galés, who has been the subject of a recent monograph by Rosa Gregori.<sup>9</sup> In addition to working as a printer and publisher, she also wrote, thus monopolizing both the creation and production processes of the book.<sup>10</sup>

### Overview

The role of female printers has been studied extensively for most European print domains,<sup>11</sup> and elsewhere for places such as Mexico, Guatemala and Peru.<sup>12</sup> The Iberian case too has received its share of scholarly attention,

- 9 Rosa María Gregori Roig, *La impressora Jerònima Galés i els Mey*, (València, segle XVI) (València: Biblioteca Valenciana Nicolau Primitiu, Generalitat Valenciana, 2012). Gregori published another study on the same printer in 2009, 'Tipografia i textos en el taller de la impressora Jerònima Galés (València, segle XVI)', in M. Garone Gravier and A. Corbeto López (eds.), *Muses de la imprenta. La dona i les arts del llibre. Segles XVI–XIX* (Barcelona: Museu Diocesà de Barcelona / Associació de Bibliòfils de Barcelona, 2009), pp. 83–98. María del Mar Fernández Vega has also studied the figure of Galés, 'Jerónima de Gales. Una impresora valenciana del siglo XVI', in P.M. Cátedra García, M.I. Páiz Hernández, M.L. López-Vidriero Abelló (eds.) *La memoria de los libros. Estudios sobre la historia del escrito y la lectura en Europa y América* (Salamanca: Instituto de Historia del Libro y de la Lectura, 2004), pp. 405–433.
- 10 Broomhall has argued that 'the print trades could provide women with increased opportunities for literacy', see her *Women and the Book Trade*, p. 53.
- 11 Albert Corbeto López, 'Las musas ignoradas. Estudio historiográfico del papel de la mujer en el ámbito de la imprenta', in Garone Gravier and Corbeto López (eds.), *Muses de la imprenta*, pp. 2–42.
- 12 Sarah Poot Herrera, 'El siglo de las viudas. impresoras y mercaderes de libros: el XVII novohispano', *Destiempos [Dossier: Virreïnatos]* III, 14 (2008), pp. 300–316; Ana Cecilia Montiel Ontiveros and Luz del Carmen Beltrán Cabrera, 'Paula de Benavides: impresora del siglo XVII. El inicio de un linaje', *Contribuciones desde Coatepec*, 10 (2006), pp. 103–115; Marina Garone Gravier, 'Tras las huellas de Typosine: entre el mito y la realidad de la mujer en la imprenta', in M. Garone (ed.), *Las otras letras: mujeres impresoras en la Biblioteca Palafoxiana* (Puebla: Secretaría de Cultura del Estado de Puebla, 2009); Marina Garone Gravier, 'La mujer y la imprenta en las colonias españolas de América: México, Guatemala y Perú', in Garone Gravier and Corbeto López (eds.), *Muses de la imprenta*, pp. 43–82; Marina Garone Gravier 'Impresoras hispanoamericanas: un estado de la cuestión', *Butlletí la Reial Acadèmia de Bones Lletres de Barcelona*, L (2007–2008), pp. 451–471; Marina Garone Gravier and Albert Corbeto López, 'Huellas invisibles sobre el papel: las impresoras antiguas en España y México (siglos XVI al XIX)', *Revista de història, Juiz de Fora*, v. 17, n.02 (2011), pp. 103–123.

primarily in terms of studies of specific women printers.<sup>13</sup> However, to date, no-one has yet attempted a broader survey of the role of women in the Iberian print trade. Thanks to *Iberian Books*, a project based at University College Dublin, which has sought to map Iberian publishing during its Golden Age, it is possible to achieve a more complete sense of the significant role played by women in the book industry before 1650.<sup>14</sup> Exploiting the data accumulated by this project allows us to draw some general conclusions with regard to the geography, chronology and types of books printed, financed or sold by women.

The distribution of female printers in Spanish cities is not surprising. For the sixteenth century, the cities with the highest number of female printers – Barcelona, Zaragoza and Madrid – were some of the largest and most important centres of publishing.<sup>15</sup> So too for the seventeenth century, where the

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- 13 Aristide Rumeau, 'Isabel de Basilea: 'mujer impresora'', *Bulletin Hispanique*, 73 (1971), pp. 231–247; Clive Griffin, 'Brígida Maldonado 'ymprimidora' sevillana, viuda de Juan Cromberger', *Archivo Hispalense*, LXXVI, 233 (1993), pp. 83–117; Jaime Moll, 'Los avatares de una impresora en Madrid', in *Homenaje a Daría Vilariño* (Santiago de Compostela: Universidade de Santiago de Compostela, Servicio de Publicacións e Intercambio Científico, 1993), pp. 479–485; Mónica Cortés Corral and María Victoria Méndez Viar, 'Impresoras madrileñas en el Siglo de Oro: Juana Martínez de Angulo', *Anexos de Signo*, 4 (2001), pp. 185–211; Fernández Vega, 'Jerónima de Gales', pp. 405–433; María Dolores Sánchez Cobos, 'Mariana de Montoya, una mujer impresora en la Baeza de comienzo del siglo xvii', in P.M. Cátedra García, M.I. Páiz Hernández, M.L. López-Vidriero Abelló (eds.) *La memoria de los libros. Estudios sobre la historia del escrito y la lectura en Europa y América* (Salamanca: Instituto de Historia del Libro y de la Lectura, 2004), pp. 365–379; Jaime Moll, 'Juan de la Cuesta', *Boletín de la Real Academia Española*, LXXXV (2005), pp. 475–484; Albert Corbeto López, 'Notas para el estudio de las impresoras españolas (siglos xvi a xviii)', in M. Garone (ed.), *Las otras letras: mujeres impresoras en la Biblioteca Palafoxiana* (Puebla: Secretaría de Cultura del Estado de Puebla, 2009), pp. 22–31; Corbeto López, 'Las musas ignoradas', pp. 2–42; José Calvo González, *Letra y duelo. Imprentas de viudas en Málaga (siglos xvii–xix): Fondos del Archivo Municipal* (Málaga: Ayuntamiento de Málaga, 2009); Maillard Álvarez and Griffin, 'Doña Brígida Maldonado, la familia Cromberger y la imprenta sevillana', in Garone Gravier and Corbeto López (eds.), *Muses de la imprenta*, pp. 99–128; José Manuel Pedraza Gracia, 'Juana Millán, señora de la imprenta: aportación al conocimiento de una imprenta dirigida por una mujer en la primera mitad del siglo xvi', *Bulletin Hispanique*, vol. lxxv, n° 1 (2009), pp. 51–54; José Manuel Pedraza Gracia, 'Las mujeres en la imprenta hispana durante los siglos xv y xvi', in C. García Caro and J. Vilchez Pardo (eds.), *Homenaje a Isabel de Torres Ramírez: estudios de documentación dedicados a su memoria* (Granada: Universidad, 2009), pp. 587–606; María Jesús Vázquez Madruga, 'Juana Martínez de Angulo: una impresora de Alcalá de Henares a finales del siglo xvi', *Cuadernos para la investigación de la literatura hispánica*, 35 (2010), pp. 83–102.
- 14 The project began in 2006 (<http://www.ucd.ie/ibp/>) directed by Dr Alexander Wilkinson of University College Dublin.
- 15 Wilkinson, *Iberian Books*, p. xvi.





FIGURE 4.3 Bulla das indulgencias concedidas pello santo padre Paulo iii aos confrades da Misericordia deste cidade Deuora (*Em Euora: em casa da Viua molher que foy de Andre de Burgos... de Andre de Burgos, 1 Deze[m]bro 1582*) (USTC 345493).<sup>16</sup>

16 This image is of the copy at the Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal, RES. 1763 A. The image is used with permission of the library.

greatest number of female printers could be found in Madrid and then Barcelona. Given the nature of the Iberian world in this period, we should also note the activity of women printers outside of the Peninsula. In Antwerp, the widow of Martin Nutius assumed control over the printing house for no less than fifteen years, while the widow of Christophe Plantin managed the printing operation for five years. In the New World too, in Mexico, there were a number of female printers active over the course of the period.

Curiously, however, in Portugal there are only two recorded instances of female printers – the widow of Germão Galharde in Lisbon who appears to have been active between 1559 and 1564, and the widow of Andrés de Burgos in Évora, who was active around 1582 and 1583 (Figure 4.3).

In the seventeenth century, only one female printer in Portugal is recorded – María Flores in Braga, the widow of Nicolau de Carvalho.<sup>17</sup> She is mentioned as having responsibility for the press in 1634, a control which she exercised alongside her son, as suggested by the imprint 'Ex Officina vidue, & filij Nicolai Carualho Vniuersitatis Conimbricensis Typographi 1634'.<sup>18</sup>

In the vast majority of cases, the women who were involved in the book industry were the widows of the original owners of the business, although some daughters and granddaughters can also be identified.<sup>19</sup> Nevertheless, there is evidence to suggest that some women started working entirely on their own initiative, not least the printer María Ortiz de Saravia, who was active in Toledo from 1625 to 1626, or María Pérez, who worked in Seville in 1621.

We can trace some women who took charge of the printing business and who were active for far longer than their husbands. Indeed, there are some instances where we have evidence of the activity of a widow, but not the husband who had presumably set up the press.<sup>20</sup> However, in other cases, the operation of the business appears to have been entirely transitory. In other words, the women only looked after the business for a year or two until they remarried or until a son, or another male relative, could take charge. The temporary nature of these roles is even more pronounced if we look at the women who operated

17 José Jorge David de Freitas Gonçalves, *A imprensa em Coimbra no século XVII* (Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Universidade Nova de Lisboa, 2010), p. 23.

18 The imprint corresponds to the *Breviarium Bracarense*, printed in Braga in 1634 (USTC 5031321).

19 Note the difference, for example, compared to the case of the city of London, in which, according to Corbeto López, 'there were several cases in which the women were the legal heads of the business even when their husbands were still alive'; Corbeto López, 'Las musas ignoradas', p. 33. The translation is mine.

20 This is the case of the 'widow of Lázaro Ríos', Paulo de Zamora, *Memorial hecho por los padres de la serafica religion de san Francisco en defensa de la doctrina de sus doctores* (Madrid: viuda de Lázaro Ríos, 1628) (USTC 5033772). We have no record of her husband.

as book merchants and publishers. With the notable exception of the widow of Blas de Robles, it is difficult to find any examples of long-lasting careers.

### Formulae Used to Identify Women

As we have seen, by far the most common situation was for a woman to inherit a printing business following the death of her husband, with only a few instances of women who had some other kind of family connection with the previous owner. The most common wording used on imprints was ‘widow of’ together with the full name or surname of the husband, such as on Joan Carles Amat’s *Guitarra española de cinco ordenes, la cual enseña de templar y tañer rasgado*, where the imprint reads ‘Impressa en Lerida: por la viuda Anglada y Andres Lorenço [y a su costa], 1627’ (USTC 5021562).<sup>21</sup> Another common expression was the ‘widow and heirs of’ together with the husband’s name, as on *Por don Pedro Barba y Romero regidor perpetuo de la ciudad de Carmona. En el pleyto con doña Catalina de Castroverde*, where the imprint reads ‘Granada, viuda y herederos de Blas Martínez, 1637’ (USTC 5043858). The continued use of the late husband’s name may in part have been a recognition of the fact that the role assumed by the woman was transitory.<sup>22</sup> Perhaps more importantly, though, it signalled very clearly the woman’s position in the family business and demonstrated her familiarity with and knowledge of the printing world.<sup>23</sup> Over time, there are some instances where women came to use their own names in preference to the widow formula. Catalina del Barrio y Angulo, for instance, appeared first as ‘widow of Fernando Correa Montenegro’ on Lope de Vega’s *Parte catorce de las comedias* (Madrid, por la viuda de Fernando Correa Montenegro: a costa de Miguel de Siles, vendese en su casa, 1621) (USTC 5006040) and then as the ‘widow of Juan González’ on *Por doña Antonia de Tapia viuda del licenciado Lucas Antonio de Salinas abogado difunta. Con doña Clara Mariaca, y sus hermanos* (Madrid, por la viuda de Juan Gonzalez, 1633) (USTC 5004170), and finally as ‘Catalina del Barrio’ on Juan de Palafox y Mendoza’s, *Sitio y socoro [sic] de Fuenterrabia y sucesos del año de mil y seiscientos y treinta y ocho* (Madrid, en la imprenta de Catalina del Barrio, 1639) (USTC 5005406).

There are examples, however, of women who used their own names from the very beginning of their careers. Such was the case with Ana de Nájera, the daughter of Bartolomé de Nájera, a printer from Zaragoza, and his widow

21 ‘La viuda Anglada’ was the widow of Mauricio Anglada.

22 Broomhall, *Women and the Book Trade*, p. 62.

23 Ibid., p. 63.

María Solórzano.<sup>24</sup> A similar example is that of Juana Millán, who includes her name, albeit accompanied by a mention of her status as her husband's widow: Pedro Hardouin, *Fori [et] obseruantie Regni Aragonum*, ([Zaragoza]: ex iussu impresisq[ue] Joa[n]ne millia[n] vidue Petri Harduyn, 1542) (USTC 337611). Such use of the woman's own name while uncommon in the sixteenth century, became more prevalent in the following century with printers such as Teresa Junta.<sup>25</sup>

The confidence for women to place their own names on the title pages, may have come from significant experience in the printing trade.<sup>26</sup> However, the formulae used on books appears to have been highly changeable, which makes it difficult to discern any consistent reasoning. Indeed, sometimes the use of particular formulae appears random. What does seem to be clear, however, is the fact that the continued use of a husband's name after his death could, in many cases, be put down to purely commercial reasons. In fact, several examples have been found in which initially, for a very short period, the woman's own name appears only to be replaced, for the rest of her career, by the formula 'widow of'. Such was the case of María Ramírez, who appeared with her own name in 1600.<sup>27</sup> Between 1601 and 1632, she then appeared as the 'widow of Juan Gracián' or using the formula 'the workshop of Juan Gracián'.<sup>28</sup> Another, perhaps more complex example, is that of Ana Vélez who published using the formula 'heirs of Andrés Sánchez Ezpeleta', before then employing her own name on imprints published between 1607 and 1609.<sup>29</sup> Thereafter, she employed the formula 'widow of Andrés Sánchez Ezpeleta'.<sup>30</sup>

It is even possible to find examples of where the formula 'widow' together with the name of the husband can be found alongside the woman's own name

24 For instance, *Libro de la oracion en que se ponen consideraciones sobre los evangelios de todos los domingos del año, y algunas fiestas principales* (Zaragoza, Anna de Nájera, 1573) (USTC 335418).

25 For instance, *Prematica de la concordia que se de guardar entre estos reynos y el de Valencia, sobre la remision de los delinquentes* (Madrid, Teresa Junta, 1624) (USTC 5025976).

26 Broomhall, *Women and the Book Trade*, p. 56.

27 Jerónimo de Contreras, *Selva de aventuras* (Alcalá de Henares, María Ramírez, 1600) (USTC 335787).

28 For instance, Luis de Guzmán, *Historia de las misiones que han hecho los religiosos de la Compañía de Jesus para predicar sancto evangelio en la India Oriental y en los reynos de la China y Japon, primera parte* (Alcalá, Viuda de Juan Gracián, 1601) (USTC 5009349).

29 For instance, Dionisio Daza Chacón, *Pratica y teorica de cirugia en romance y en latin* (Valadolid, en casa de Ana Vélez, 1607) (USTC 5023813).

30 Juan Soto, *Alabanzas de Dios, y sus santos, con alusión a los cánticos de la iglesia y himnos que por el discurso del año canta mas comunmente, en diferente género de verso español* (Alcalá, por la viuda de Andrés Sánchez de Ezpeleta, 1615) (USTC 5010688).



FIGURE 4.4 *Luis de Miranda*, *Directorium sive manuale praelatorum regularium*. Primus tomus. Avtjore Freatre (Salamanca, excudebat Susana Muñoz, 1615) (USTC 5005871).<sup>31</sup>

31 This image is of the copy at the Biblioteca Histórica Marqués de Valdecilla, Derecho 5049(2). The image is used with permission of the library.

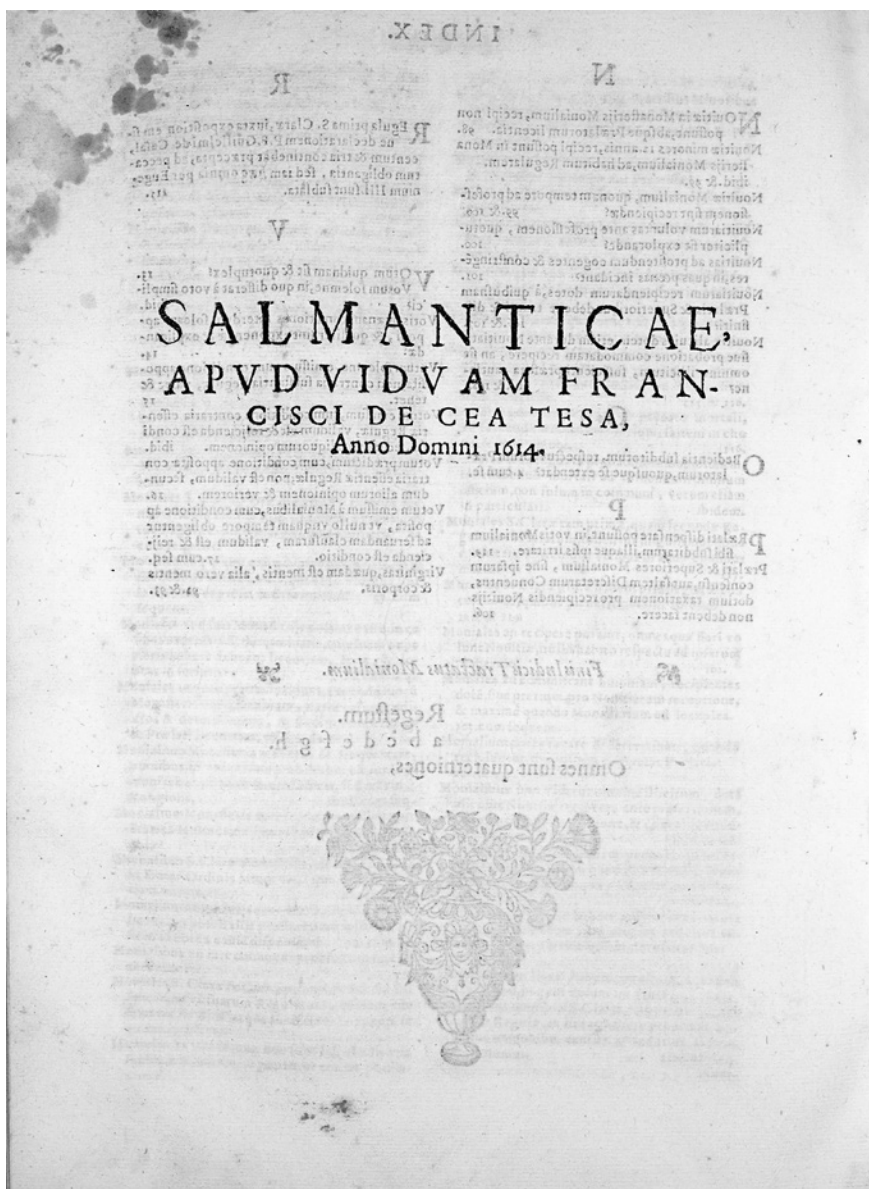


FIGURE 4.5 *Colophon from the Directorium.*

in the same book – with one form employed on the title page and the other in the colophon (Figure 4.4 and Figure 4.5).<sup>32</sup> This is the case in Juan Bretón's

32 Juan Bretón, *Mística theologia y doctrina de la perfection evangelica a la que puede llegar el alma en esta vida sacada del spu. de los sagrados doctors* (Madrid, en casa de la viuda

*Mistica theologia*, where the ‘widow of Alonso Martín de Balboa’, is recorded on the title page, but her own name, Francisca Medina, appears in the colophon – albeit alongside the description ‘widow of Alonso Martín’. Another example can be found in the *Directorium sive manuale praelatorum regularium, primus tomus* of Luis de Miranda printed in Salamanca in 1615, where Susana Muñoz is mentioned on the title page, while in the colophon, she is named as the ‘widow of Francisco de Cea Tesa’ (USTC 5006627). It is tempting to see in such inconsistencies a strategy by which female printers could emphasise their individuality but without losing the commercial value that came from their husband’s name. Or perhaps these were just inconsistencies.

Many widows, however, will have disappeared entirely from the printing record due to the simple fact that some imprints and colophons continued to mention only the name of their husbands, or use the ‘heirs of’ formula.<sup>33</sup> It is practically impossible to know the number of women who are included in this group and thus, a part of the role played by women in the modern Iberian book industry will forever remain hidden from view.<sup>34</sup> However, there are two main ways in which some information can be reconstructed.

Firstly, archival documentation can offer a rich source of further information. A fine example of this are legal documents, many of which have lain virtually untouched in the collections that house them. A letter patent preserved in the Real Chancillería of Valladolid, for instance, is a case in point. It mentions one María Cornejo, who, judging by the heading of the lawsuit, must have worked in the printing business and probably also as a bookseller, even though she is not mentioned anywhere on any known book title page or colophon of

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de Alonso Martín) on the title page, with ‘en casa de Francisca Medina, viuda de Alonso Martín, 1614’ in the colophon (USTC 5021088).

33 One of the most notable cases in this regard is that of Brígida Maldonado, the widow of the printer Juan Cromberger who was studied by Griffin, ‘Brígida Madonado’, pp. 83–117 and Maillard Álvarez and Griffin, ‘Doña Brígida Maldonado’, pp. 99–128. Moll, ‘Los avatares de una impresora en Madrid’, pp. 479–485 highlights the example of Serafina Ezpeleta, the widow of Antonio Román, at the end of the seventeenth century.

34 The Biblioteca Nacional de España has created an extraordinary volume, entitled *Mujeres impresoras*, which details the existence of certain widows whose activity it is possible to prove by way of documentation, although they do not appear as either widows or with their own names in the books. See Lourdes Gutiérrez, Purificación Lafuente and Laura Carrillo, *Mujeres impresoras. Guía de recursos bibliográficos* (Madrid: Servicios de Información Bibliográfica, Departamento de Referencia, Biblioteca Nacional, 2012). This remarkable work allows us to more fully understand their careers. Sebastián de Mena is a case in point. His printing activity was once thought to have extended from 1593 to 1611. It is now known that it was his widow who was running the printing business from 1608.

the time.<sup>35</sup> Another example relates to Jaime Cendrat, who died in 1589 leaving his printing business to his brother Marcos and his wife Vicenta.<sup>36</sup> From 1590 to 1620, Cendrat's workshop continued to function with the same degree of success that it had enjoyed while Cendrat was alive. Between 1575 and 1589, Cendrat printed 73 books, while from 1590 to 1620, 169 books issues from his presses. Cendrat's will strongly suggests that his widow may have taken over the running of the business.<sup>37</sup> However, she is mentioned on a title page as his widow only once.<sup>38</sup> In all other cases, her name is absent.

A second way to reconstruct information on women and the book trade may be through an analysis of preliminary texts found in printed books. Looking at the case of the French printer Madelaine Bourssette, Susan Broomhall observed a number of visual clues, such as typographical devices that marked out her involvement.<sup>39</sup> A similar review of Iberian materials issuing from presses might prove equally illuminating.

### Production Rates and Genres

One would expect that the rates of bibliographical production from a printing business would fall once it had been inherited by a widow. This is logical if we consider that, in most cases, it was a temporary job for the women. The widow of Giraldo Dótil, for example, printed just two books – both in 1613. We have no record of her involvement in printing after this date. The contrast between her career and that of her husband who operated between 1561 and 1611 and produced 120 books is very marked. The same is true of the widow of Juan Godínez de Millis, who printed a copy of Pedro de Salas's book *Thesaurus poetarum* in Valladolid in 1616 (USTC 5016821) along with one more in the same year, again in the name of her deceased husband, before then disappearing from view.<sup>40</sup> Her career is certainly short in comparison to that of her husband,

35 Archivo de la Real Chancillería de Valladolid, Registro de Ejecutorias, Caja 1681, 3.

36 Agustín Millares Carlo, 'Introducción al Estudio de la Historia y Bibliografía de la Imprenta en Barcelona en el siglo XVI: los impresores del periodo renacentista', *Boletín Millares Carlo*, 3 (1981), p. 72.

37 Ibid., p. 72.

38 *Flos sanctorum quarta y ultima parte y discursos o sermones sobre los evangelios de todas las dominicas del año, ferias de quaresma y sanctos principales* (Barcelona, en casa de la viuda de Jaime Cendrat, 1590) (USTC 342388).

39 Broomhall, *Women and the Book Trade*, p. 56.

40 Again, we know of this printer only through the work of the *Iberian Books Project*.



Juan Godínez de Millis, who was active between 1599 and 1615, and responsible for at least 80 books.

Other similar examples are mentioned below (Table 4.1):<sup>41</sup>

There were, however, some very notable exceptions. There are some women who continued printing for the same period of time, or, in some cases, even longer than their husbands, although the vast majority of such women tended to follow the model set out by their husbands – that is to say, that they did not seem to experiment with the type of works published on their presses.

An appropriate example for the sixteenth century is that of the widow of Bartolomé de Nájera, María de Solórzano, who, following the death of her husband in 1572, took care of the business for 11 years, producing 30 books, predominantly of a religious nature. This was the same subject which had dominated the business in the time of her husband, who was in charge for 22 years and printed 68 books. If we divide the number of books printed by each of them by the number of years, we see that the business under María Solórzano maintained the same rate of production as it had under her husband.

TABLE 4.1 *Fall in the production rates of some widows after the death of the original owner.*

Place	Original owner of business	Dates	Number of books	Widow	Dates	Number of books
Barcelona	Jaume Cortey	1512–1564	35	Joana Cortey	1569–1577	5
Évora	Andrés de Burgos	1550–1582	53	Viuda de Andrés de Burgos	1582–1583	3
Toledo	Juan Rodríguez	1581–1590	24	Viuda de Juan Rodríguez	1591	1
Barcelona	Noel Baresson	1592–1593	5	Viuda de Noel Baresson	1594	1
Alcalá de Henares	Luis Martínez Grande	1606–1614	24	Viuda de Luis Martínez Grande	1615	1
Toledo	Tomás de Guzmán	1595–1613	21	Viuda de Tomás de Guzmán	1615	1
Alcalá de Henares	Juan de Villodas Orduña	1624–1630	54	Viuda de Juan de Villodas Orduña	1631	1
Barcelona	Esteban Liberós	1602–1633	661	Viuda de Esteban Liberós	1633	1

41 All these printers have been brought out of the shadows by the *Iberian Books Project*.

The case of Juana Sánchez, the widow of Cosme Delgado, from the seventeenth century, is also interesting. She was in charge of the printing business for 8 years, from 1617 to 1624, following her husband's death, and produced 50 books. The rate of production contrasts notably with that of Cosme, who in 24 years is only known to have printed 29 books. Furthermore, this case is exceptional because Juana Sánchez widened the range of works published, moving away from publishing only legal texts, news, and religious works. Although Juana Sánchez continued to print these types of books when she took over the press, she diversified the range, adding books on science and medicine, classical authors such as Aesop, as well as beginning to print literature, notably by Salas Barbadillo. She printed seven of this author's books, many of them first editions and always financed by Andrés de Carrasquilla, the usual publisher of this author.<sup>42</sup>

Along with Juana Sánchez, we can find many other women who took charge of the management of their deceased husbands' printing businesses and who remained active for several decades. In a recent study, Corbeto López discussed the case of María de Quiñones, without doubt one of the most outstanding female printers of the seventeenth century.<sup>43</sup> Quiñones is known to have produced almost 200 volumes.<sup>44</sup> Other examples include María Ramírez, the widow of Juan Gracián, who was responsible for printing at least 170 books. There was also Antonia Ramírez, possibly the widow of Juan Fernández, who printed more than 200 books. Or Catalina de Barrio Angulo, who worked in two different periods, firstly as the widow of Fernando Correa de Montenegro and then as the widow of Juan González with more than 220 books. Or the widow of Alonso Martín de Balboa, Francisca Medina, who was in charge of the business for twenty years and printed more than 200 books by such prominent authors of the age as Lope de Vega. The figures are lower for the sixteenth century, though they are significant enough. There was the previously mentioned widow of Bartolomé de Nájera, María Solórzano, who produced 30 books spread over an eleven-year period. Or the widow of Pedro de Madrigal, María Rodríguez, who printed 35 books in 7 years. Or the widow of Alonso Gómez, María Ruiz, who printed 46 books in 10 years. There was also the notable Jerónima Galés.

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42 Agulló y Cobo, *La imprenta*.

43 Corbeto López, 'Las musas ignoradas', p. 39.

44 In addition to Corbeto López, Moll also touches on Quiñones in his work on 'Juan de la Cuesta', pp. 475–484. The importance and scale of Quiñones' output would, however, merit of a fuller study.

Women were mentioned in a very low percentage of books printed before 1650—2 per cent for the period before 1600 and just less than 5 per cent for the first half of the seventeenth century. Yet the information offered here highlights their importance not only as printers, but across the broader world of Iberian publishing. Almost all of the women we have discussed in this chapter carried out their work having inherited a business, though there are scattered instances of women setting up shop on their own initiative. Most took control of the business for only a short period of time. This was especially true of female publishers and book merchants who generally only took over these roles until a suitable male relative could be found to take over. Again, however, there were exceptions. We have discussed several examples where women took over a business if not permanently, then certainly for a long period. In some cases indeed, the length of the women's careers exceeded that of their husbands and they maintained, or surpassed, their rates of production. Although it was by no means common, it is also possible to identify cases of women who inherited business from their husbands and who took their firms in very different directions, altering the range of books being published.

The formula used to record their role in the printing, publishing or sale of the books was almost always 'widow' together with the name of their husband. However, in the sixteenth century, but more commonly in the seventeenth, several examples can be found of women freely using their own name either on the title page or in the colophon.

Much further work could and should be undertaken which might shed further light on the place and role of women in the broader world of Iberian publishing. Information from title pages and colophons has formed the basis of the evidence discussed in this chapter. However, we could also learn much from legal documents and other evidence contained in archival repositories, as well through careful study of typographical ornaments and other preliminary material such as licenses and endorsements.



**PART 2**

*Addressing the Reader in Golden-Age Spain*





## The Book-Reader Relationship in Golden-Age Spain: Reading Practices and the Publishing Industry in *Don Quixote*

*Sarah Malfatti*

The metaliterary nature of Cervantes' *Don Quixote* and of its characters, gives us a valuable opportunity to explore contemporary interpretive communities and their connections with the printed book. The act of reading in *Don Quixote* is at the heart of the narrative development of the novel; it is its driving force, moulding and giving shape to the characters. Every character is a reader, and is perceived as such not only by the other figures in the novel, but also by us, the actual readers. By exploring *Don Quixote*, we can gain some remarkable insights into the cultural practices of the period.<sup>1</sup>

Beyond the historical evidence, which seems inevitably to merge with the fictional nature of the novel and with the narrative and metaliterary role of its actors, the identification of these cultural practices, of their agents and contexts, enable us to take a closer look at the interpretative mechanisms that these readers adopt and use, mechanisms that are interconnected with the process of reception and cultural 'appropriation':<sup>2</sup>

[...] by adding the description of the specific materiality in the Cervantine narration to the cultural practices that the novel recalls (oral, visual, writing practices and, moreover, their articulation in hybrid forms), as well as to the social relationships that it documents, we can explain many different cultural aspects of *Don Quixote* and explore the variety of memory and communication practices in the European Modern Age.<sup>3</sup>

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- 1 Fernando Bouza Álvarez, 'Los contextos materiales de la producción cultural', in A. Feros and J. Gelabert (eds.), *España en tiempos del Quijote* (Madrid: Taurus, 2005), p. 344.
  - 2 Roger Chartier, 'Du livre au lire', in R. Chartier, (ed.), *Pratiques de la lecture* (Paris, Payot & Rivage, 2003), pp. 81–117, and Roger Chartier, *L'ordre des livres: lecteurs, auteurs, bibliothèques en Europe entre XIVE et XVIIIe siècle* (Aix-en-Provence: Alinea, 1992).
  - 3 Bouza, 'Los contextos materiales', p. 344 (the translation is ours).

In terms of 'practices of communication and memory', we will focus specifically on those interpretive strategies (associated with reception practices) that are embraced by the interpretive communities, and which are influenced by the socio-historical context and by the material diffusion, appropriation and interpretation of literature.<sup>4</sup>

References to the cultural network of the printed book are constant features of both volumes of the *hidalgo's* adventures. Despite the fact that they are fictional, they serve as a portrait, representing the material and intellectual conditions of contemporary cultural life and literary debate. The book contains traces of its own materiality, of its essence as a commercial product.<sup>5</sup> Perhaps one of the most significant examples of this is contained in the second part of the novel, which references another recently published work – Avellaneda's apocryphal sequel to Cervantes' *Don Quixote*.<sup>6</sup> The publication of Avellaneda's volume, mentioned by Cervantes in his prologue, acquires a primary narrative function.

This instance of intertextuality was a direct and undeniable consequence not only of contemporary shifts in the chivalric paradigm, but also of the role of the book as a commercial product. Cervantes' literary creations, with characters like the *hidalgo* or *Sancho* the squire, were highly celebrated and, almost immediately, became literary and folkloric *topoi*. Adapted by other authors, there issued a self-referencing creative mechanism. In Cervantes' case, the references to other uses of his own characters did not end with Avellaneda's work, but continued with a series of provocative uses of characters and situations.<sup>7</sup> In his

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4 Here, we employ the definition of interpretive strategies and interpretive communities given by Stanley Fish in *Is There a Text in This Class?* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1990).

5 James Iffland, 'Don Quijote dentro de la Galaxia Gutenberg (reflexiones sobre Cervantes y la cultura tipográfica)', *Journal of Hispanic Philology*, XIV (1989), pp. 23–41.

6 Alonso Fernández de Avellaneda, *El ingenioso hidalgo Don Quijote de la Mancha, que contiene su tercera salida y es la quinta parte de sus aventuras*, Edición, introducción y notas de F. García Salinero (Madrid: Castalia, 1998).

7 In particular the manipulation of the main characters, Alonso, Sancho and Dulcinea, but also the use by Cervantes of Avellaneda's characters and situations. One of the most significant examples is the appearance of don Álvaro Tarfe, one of the characters in Avellaneda's sequel, which Cervantes has interact with his own characters. The aim of the accidental meeting at the inn is the identification of the authenticity of "those" Don Quixote and Sancho, instead of Avellaneda's characters, by Don Álvaro: "Cervantes took a character from the apocryphal second part of his book, and he made him testify on the authenticity of the original one", Juan Paredes Núñez, 'Un caballero granadino: realidad y ficción en torno a un personaje cervantino', *Il confronto Letterario*, 52 (2010), pp. 343–351 (p. 347; the translation is ours).



prologue, and elsewhere, Cervantes references these other versions of his creations, as well as the publishing and material contexts in which they appeared.

The book industry enjoyed a large public of non-professional readers, communities of non-specialist readers whose purpose, when they interacted with cultural products such as printed books, could be moral growth or spiritual enlightenment, but could also be entertainment and aesthetic pleasure.<sup>8</sup>

From the beginning of the seventeenth century, chivalric literature was produced for a wide and culturally diverse audience.<sup>9</sup> By this point, the genre had shaken off all pretence of any moralizing and idealistic purpose. It was now firmly aimed at the recreational market. The entertainment factor was founded on elements such as the 'marvellous', eroticism, and hyperbole – a deliberate set of editorial strategies that underlined the dominant role of the public in the development and the circulation of new narrative and formal forms.<sup>10</sup>

### Cervantes' Characters as Interpretive Communities

Let us now consider the role of the interpretive communities as functions of the text's reading and interpretative processes. We can trace their function as creators of meaning, as well as their interdependent relationship with the book industry and book markets. They formed part of a circuit in which the text was received and in which meaning was constructed and construed. The community developed some interpretive mechanisms – supported by a

8 B.W. Ife, *Reading and fiction in Golden-Age Spain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985).

9 Chivalric literature circulated in print, but also in manuscript. Due to changes in the publishing world, exacerbated by economic crises, there was a significant rise of the manuscript tradition. This kind of work is conceived and prepared for a more select audience, for a public that does not necessarily follow the rules of the editorial industry and is not subject to the literary strategies that rule the production of the printed book. It is, however, an interesting and significant phenomenon, especially because, as J.M. Lucía Megías points out, it can give us some insight into the evolution of the genre. These novels, exempt from the pressure of the cultural and editorial market, reflect directly the intention and the preferences of the authors. In addition, they allow us to formulate valuable hypothesis about the aesthetic fluctuation of a given reading audience. José Manuel Lucía Megías, 'Libros de caballería castellanos: textos y contextos', *Edad de Oro*, 21 (2002), pp. 9–60 (p. 31).

10 Lucía Megías, 'Libros de caballería castellanos', p. 30.

series of conventions established within a widely shared intertextual and cultural encyclopaedia. The reader forms these into interpretive decisions and, by employing them during the reading process, she/he writes the text while reading it.

Even the most apparently subjective reading is always framed within a context, embedded within a social and collective code that makes it intelligible and justifiable (or not) for the other members of the community. It is necessary, then, to identify this code in order that we might better understand the theoretical, historical, social and cultural reasons for its development and spread within a constant and symbiotic relationship with the daily and usual practices of cultural appropriation.

As James Iffland has suggested, these practices are mentioned by Cervantes throughout the novel.<sup>11</sup> We can begin to gain a sense of this new cultural world, including the acts of writing and publishing the book, and of the way in which literature is considered a mercantile product. Indeed, the novel allows us to observe and analyse the very interpretive strategies the community adopts to create and read the text, strategies which are strongly related to material reception practices and to the book market.

It seems clear that the cultural conventions that guide the reading process, as well as the interpretive strategies employed by the community, are determined by active social, political and economic factors. It may seem, on the other hand, that, once the conventions are settled, those extra-literary elements can no longer influence the specific dynamics of reading and comprehension.<sup>12</sup> But if we relate the receptive aspect of conventional competence, and of the strategies, to the variable elements given by the political, social and cultural conditions, we can combine and join, in a complementary way, those theoretical instruments and research patterns to the textual plots and to the many (and narratively fundamental) descriptions of the most different reading practices; by doing that, we can eventually define the social and gender-based composition of this specific and intra-textual audience, its 'cultural diet',

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11 Iffland, 'Don Quijote dentro de la Galaxia Gutenberg', p. 40.

12 Fish's and Culler's sociological theories, Mailloux says, "have been specifically criticized for neglecting economic and political factors in their accounts", while we know that "reading certainly does not take place in a social vacuum independent of economic and political forces. For example, economic factors determine the availability of books and the material circumstances in which they are read; political structures condition motives for and effects of reading; and larger social forces (class, gender and so on) influence audience interest and literary taste", Steven Mailloux, *Interpretive Conventions: The Reader in the Study of American Fiction* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1982), p. 41.

its reading routine and its interaction with the book as a daily object and as an entertainment instrument.

We should not forget, however, that all the different forms of entertainment literature are re-elaborated versions of the contemporary world that the author has written following the rules of composition and narration. Despite being very realistic, they are still a 'novelization' of one possible reality:

Through these narrative inventions, Miguel de Cervantes creates a literature of the reality, and these same inventions succeed in transmitting the extraordinary cultural density of the Golden Age. However, the fiction that he builds and plots is still a narrative creation, first of all because the author himself, in an ingenious way, always reminds us that he is actually creating fiction...it would be good not to forget that the first intention of a novel is to be literary and not documentary.<sup>13</sup>

During the Cervantine era, the debate surrounding literary fiction was intense. Moralists and other commentators, both secular and ecclesiastical, debated the merits of the widespread diffusion of this genre. They commented on its lack of rationality and moral benefits, its (in)utility for the education and for the spiritual development of the 'average' reader. In particular, they drew attention to unprofessional, a-critical and impressionable readers, not least women, who might be easily corrupted by the written word. Such considerations about the rise of a new reading public, and the ethics of a literature for everyone whose purpose it was to entertain rather than further any more worthy intellectual goal, often carried over *within* the fictional works themselves.<sup>14</sup>

First we have to focus on the readers *in* the text and on their material approach to the literature of entertainment. How do they interact with the written word? What kind of reading process do they develop? Are they actual readers or are they listeners? Addressing such questions allows us to uncover the relationship the characters have with the world of the printed book, how inclined to believe the textual message they are, the emotional and practical implications, the critical (or pseudo-critical) perspective of these readers, who are different in gender, social class and education.

The conventions and the competences that forge and shape the interpretive practices of the public, include different aspects of the comprehension process. The relationship between the text and the reader goes beyond the

13 Bouza, 'Los contextos materiales', pp. 311–312 (the translation is ours).

14 It is important to think here of the literary debate between Don Quixote and the Toledo canon in Chapters 46 to 48 in the first part of the novel.

linguistic level. The interpretation of a fictional work and its reading as an actualization of a wider vision of the world and the need of a group to create meaning and sense (of the text *and* of the reality), depend largely on the traditions and the interpretive practices that originate from, and melt with, the encyclopaedia of common knowledge and the shared expectations of a public in any given time and place.

The identification of these cultural practices and traditions, their backgrounds, contexts and agents, allows us to formulate some hypotheses about the creation of the characters' interpretive mechanisms and their relationship with the chivalric genre – both in its classical form (the 'Amadises') and in its parodical one (the very Don Quixote de la Mancha) – and with the specific fictional world personified by the protagonist and by his uncontrolled behaviour.<sup>15</sup>

By its nature, interpretation is an act of contextualization, and as such, it is subject to the stream of history with all its variables – including technological improvements such as the invention of the printing press. In consequence, we can see that the contexts, to which from time to time we refer the object of our reading, are never the same.

When we attempt to comprehend a text and offer an interpretation of it, we try to 'naturalize' the text by referring it to a reality we already know. Thanks to this interpretive habit, inherited from the group to which they belong as readers and interpreters, we can connect some specific meanings to that reality. Competences, in effect, are characterized by their essentially historical and temporal dimension. They are a function of the historical moment and of the social group in which they develop. But most of all, adding a complementary material point of view to the theoretical perspective, competences are connected strongly with the practical aspect of reading and to the exterior features of the texts, manipulated by a wide range of readers and listeners. Moreover, through the formal and material transformation of the physical aspects of the

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15 In order to define the pertinence of a reading that, by default, we consider the appropriate one, we have to use a concept that has been central in almost every reception theory – the idea of literary competence as a condition for the intelligibility of a text. This competence is an evolution and an extension of Chomskian "linguistic competence": it has been used from very different perspectives and from very different critical approaches, to study the interpretation from the point of view of the reader, as the fulcrum of a possible "objectification" of the reading, and as a possible dyke against interpretive dispersion. On this subject, see Culler, 'Literary competence', in J.P. Tompkins, (ed.) *Reader-Response Criticism* (Baltimore, Johns Hopkins University Press, 1981), pp. 101–117; Id., *Structuralist poetics. Structuralism, linguistic and the study of literature* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1975) and Fish, *Is there a Text in This Class?* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1990).

book (which can modify its structure, organization and layout), texts could reach a new wider public and, consequently, illicit very different responses from those the author originally wanted or imagined.

To better understand how the early-modern public interpreted literature in general or Cervantes' work in particular, we need to understand the way the audience read, privately or publicly, the form of the edition used by the reader, and indeed the occasions where reading for entertainment was considered normal or inappropriate. The materiality of the book as an object and its diffusion are factors that can also influence deeply the intellectual aspect of the interpretation. We can take the example of the authority that was given to printed over oral material. Take, for instance, the following brief passage in which the innkeeper, a man of low education and who was culturally and politically subjected to aristocratic authority, sustains the undeniable truth of a text because of being published -printed, and not only 'pronounced'- and approved by the institutions:

You can go and throw that bone to another dog!– the innkeeper retorted – As if I didn't know how many beans make five, or where my own shoe pinches! Don't you come trying to feed me with pap – I wasn't born yesterday, by God! A fine thing it is for you to come telling me that everything in these good books is stuff and nonsense, when they were all published with their proper licenses from the gentlemen on the Royal Council – as if those were the kind of people who'd allow a pack of lies to be printed, and all those battles and enchantments that fair turn you crazy! (I, 32, p. 292).<sup>16</sup>

The reference to the act of reading and its impact raises again the issue of the variability of interpretations as well as the interpretive codes of specific communities of readers. Even though the group has a regulative and objectifying function, it is neither absolute nor objective. It is a fluctuating combination of particular interests and goals which is, in its nature, never innocent nor neutral. At the same time, it is conventional (created by conventions) and invariably public and collective, defending the interpretation from the risk of subjectivity. Every interpretation that does not respect the rules that the group established and does not adopt the immediate 'natural' and 'normal' competences,

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16 Every reference to Cervantes' novel is quoted from: Miguel de Cervantes, *The Ingenious Hidalgo Don Quixote de la Mancha*, translated with an Introduction and Notes by John Rutherford (London: Penguin Classics, 2003). The volume, chapter and page are indicated in parenthesis.

will be left outside from the accepted reading and therefore considered socially aberrant. It is not only the abnormal final result (the actual interpretation) that can push the non-aligned reader away from the community. It can be also a material relationship with the object which is considered to be outside of the accepted boundaries. The first thing that shocked Alonso's niece and his housekeeper, even before his interpretation and his will to be a knight errant, was the physical act of his reading, the exasperation of a normal activity up to the point in which the community cannot even recognize it and is forced to reject it and 'cure' it.

### Book Circulation and Reading Practices

The sudden, rapid diffusion and circulation of printed literary material is one of the main causes of the change in the reading routine and of its solitary, compulsive and insane involution:

Now you must understand that during his idle moments (which accounted for most of the year) this *hidalgo* took to reading books of chivalry with such relish and enthusiasm that he almost forgot about his hunting and even running his property, and his foolish curiosity reached such extremes that he sold acres of arable land to buy these books of chivalry and took home as many of them as he could find (I, I, p. 25).

The reaction of the community is connected with the fact that Alonso, as we saw in this brief passage, gradually neglects those activities that ought to have been central to a man in his position, that is an *hidalgo*. He escapes his responsibilities to dedicate himself to what is considered mere entertainment by the dominant community. Rather, Alonso wants to impose a new vision, a new perspective and, above all, a new interpretive strategy. In this new order, a gentleman can break the social balance and dedicate himself completely to an activity that is, in this case, not only highly unproductive, but also clandestine and totally absorbing.

Making the text economically and intellectually available to (almost) everyone is the consequence of the technological revolution. However, the relationship between the readers and the text is never abstract. The readers manipulate objects whose design and material structure rule the reading. The book, as a printed item, produces a specific meaning. The text receives a new and original status when the devices of the same typographical object change. These bibliographical modifications put the written text in a new cultural context, in a new

frame, and allow a plurality of appropriations, multiple comprehensions that depend on the form in which the reader receives the text. As Roger Chartier reminds us, whereas in the past the simple possession of a book signified a cultural superiority, now possession alone is no longer significant *per se*.<sup>17</sup> It is the use of the book itself, whether in a conventional or extraordinary way, and the properties of the printed object (whether elaborate, or unrefined) that now have this function. We have moved from an intensive way of reading to an extensive one, characterized by the impulse of pure aesthetic gratification. Cultural life, however, is not necessarily restricted to the printed book or to the direct reading of a work. The population often gets in touch with literature through other means, whether through manuscript, or shared reading or, in through oral circulation more generally. We know that literacy levels increased, but there was still a significant part of the population that could access literature only by having it read aloud. Examples in Cervantes include, of course, Sancho, a paradoxically illiterate reader, or the reapers that the innkeeper refers to in Chapter 32 of the first part of the novel.

We have to focus on the material approach that the characters of Cervantes' novel, as readers, have to the literature. To conduct this kind of analysis, and create our own intra-textual taxonomy of reading, we should compare the different shades of reading not only with obvious social differences, or with the purchasing power of the reader, but also with those categories that have no direct relationship with economic status. We need to take into account not only the 'corpus', what has been read, but also the way of reading.<sup>18</sup>

Most theories examining the sixteenth and seventeenth-century reading public, especially of chivalric literature, have centred on the relationship between the literacy level of the population, the material circulation of literature and its reception. However, it is simply not viable to restrict our analysis of the public simply to the wealthier classes. The popular classes, traditionally not involved in cultural life and in the circuit of books, do in fact belong to the reading universe and interact with the literary word – something Cervantes himself refers to in the episode of the Inn, amongst others. A public so limited as that envisaged by Maxim Chevalier, for example, does not justify nor explain the approach of many authors to the 'uneducated masses' (the so-called

17 Chartier, 'Du livre au lire', p. 83.

18 In talking about the concept of historical community, Fish says that "the membership in that category is continually changing. It changes laterally as one moves from subcommunity to subcommunity, and it changes through time when once interdicted interpretive strategies are admitted into the ranks of the acceptable". Fish, *Is There a Text in This Class?*, pp. 343–344.

'vulgo'), a part of the population that is often included in the paratext as a possible and probable addressee of the literary text by writers like Mateo Alemán or Cervantes himself.<sup>19</sup> The typographical culture, the new composition and dynamic of the audience are not just instrumental to the narration, but are decisive for the development of the story. They set a model of reading that includes, beyond the intertextual references and interpretive conventions, the historical and cultural context as a combination of social, political and cultural values with a strong historical connotation. The references made by Cervantes to different reading experiences, both in the paratext and within the narration, depict a reading revolution. The transversality of reading as an activity intended to give aesthetic pleasure, inflected in multiple practices and approaches, is recognized by Cervantes and is used throughout his novel. All the episodes that revolve around the reading, depict characters, across classes, genders and cultures, sharing experiences.

The notion of reading as a class-exclusive activity is no longer apparent, and many different kinds of reception can coexist, from the shared experience described above to the solitary and compulsive reading we have seen in the case of Alonso. The construction of the protagonist himself is closely related to the book as a printed object. Alonso is an actual 'homo tipograficus', and this is because his very nature and essence are strongly connected to the printing industry. His library, almost unimaginable in the manuscript world, is a direct consequence of this market. Without his library, his insane passion and his madness would have been unimaginable.<sup>20</sup>

In the novel, there are many episodes which confirm the enormous (sometimes exaggerated) diffusion not only of chivalric literature, but also of Cervantes' work itself. This diffusion was made possible by the number of copies and editions published thanks to printing, a technology that was already part of the practical and 'publicly available system of intelligibility', and which is also proof of those social and cultural evolutions that made the interpretive community historically variable.<sup>21</sup>

There are three more significant passages we should mention. In Chapter 2 of the second part of the hidalgo's adventures, Sancho reports to Alonso a conversation he had with Sansón Carrasco, *el bachiller*, recently graduated

19 Maxim Chevalier, *Lecturas y lectores en la España del siglo XVI y XVII* (Madrid: Turner, 1982). Margit Frenk Alatorre, *Entre la voz y el silencio: la lectura en tiempos de Cervantes* (México: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2005).

20 Iffland, "Don Quijote dentro de la Galaxia Gutenberg", 23–24; Marshal McLuhan, *The Gutenberg Galaxy: The Making of Typographical Man*, (Toronto: Toronto University Press, 1962).

21 Fish, *Is There a Text in This Class?*, p. 332.



in Salamanca and an exponent of the cultivated social class: '[...] and when I went to welcome him he told me that your history's been put into a book called *The Ingenious Hidalgo Don Quixote de la Mancha*' (II, 2, p. 501).

In the following chapter Sansón reveals to Alonso that his story has been published in Spain (Barcelona, Valencia), Portugal, and Belgium and that more than 12,000 copies are currently circulating:

It's so true, sir – said Sansón – that I'm to understand that more than twelve thousand copies of the history are in print at this moment; and if you don't believe me, just ask Portugal, Barcelona and Valencia, where they were printed; and there's a report that it's being printed now in Antwerp, and all the signs are that there's no language in the world into which it won't be translated (II, 3, p. 502).

We know, of course, that this is not entirely true. In 1615, as far as we are aware, the book has not yet been published in Barcelona nor in Antwerp, but it had been published in Brussels, three times in Madrid, twice in Lisbon, once in Valencia and once in Milan. It had also already been translated into French and English.

This revelation, however, has a strong impact on Alonso. One of the reasons why he is a knight errant is the will to be just like his literary heroes (like Amadís) and have his life and his adventures written down and read by everyone. This, again, was thanks to the circulation of the printed book – otherwise he would not have even imagined this kind of attention:

One of the things, Don Quixote put in, that must give the greatest happiness to a virtuous and eminent man is to find himself with a good name on everybody's lips, and in print, while he is still alive (II, 3, p. 502).

This particular goal is now achieved by the protagonist, but his reaction illustrates a not uncommon contradiction of publication. Printing, which is cheaper and quicker than manuscript, can permit a work to have a reach across a broad readership – '[...] children leaf through it, adolescents read it, grown men understand it and old men praise it' (II, 3, p. 506). However, the link between print and less worthy content and manuscript with the most valuable of texts is also clear:

About that there is no doubt, Don Quixote replied, but it often happens that men who have deservedly achieved and won fame by their writings lose it completely or find it diminished in part as soon as they publish them.

The reason for that, said Sansón, is that printed works are read at leisure and their defects are easily spotted, and the more famous the author the more closely they're scrutinized. Men renowned for their genius – great poets, illustrious historians – are usually envied by those whose pleasure and pastime is to pass judgement on what others have written, without ever having published anything themselves (II, 3, p. 507).

As Alonso suggests in this passage, and Sansón confirms, printing carries with it its own risks. As in the episode of the stolen donkey, those who print books can make mistakes,<sup>22</sup> 'so, you see, anyone publishing a book exposes himself to enormous risk, because it's absolutely impossible to write one in such a way that it satisfies and pleases all those who read it' (II, 3: 508).

The fact that everybody knows about the adventures of the knight and that a huge numbers of readers connected with the printed version of these adventures is proved by the episodes that take place in the dukes' court. Throughout these chapters, as in the entire novel, we find several clear indications about the material means of the circulation of print, and especially Cervantes' novel.

The duchess, for example, reminds us of the story of Don Quixote 'a gentleman about whom a history has been printed' (II, 30, p. 689), and, refers to the publication of the first volume. Sancho identifies himself as '[...] and that squire of his who plays his part or ought to play his part in that there history and who's called Sancho Panza is me – unless they did a swop when I was in my cradle, by which I mean the printing press' (II, 30, p. 689). What the court represents is the most significant aspect of this part of the novel. Not only are the duke and the duchess readers, but so too are the servants, the butler, the damsels, and everyone else. Everyone participates in the masquerade, immediately identifying themselves as a reader or, at least, as a consumer of literature. This is an example, one of many within the work, that shows clearly how reading is a practice that involves all social levels. In this particular case of the noble court, it demonstrates how print changes the interpretive conventions of this specific community. We have already mentioned that the cultural change represented by the spread of printed books are aspects of larger social change that modified the very nature of the aristocracy and its relationship with the institution of chivalry and with chivalric literature. Thanks to the publishing world too, this genre is now a product, a common and popular one, and loses the moral and sacred values it embodied in the manuscript era. The print market

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22 Iffland, 'Don Quijote dentro de la Galaxia Gutenberg', p. 32.

transformed texts once destined for a cultural elite into products intended for a popular market, commercialising it in the process.

There is another example. During his stay in Barcelona, Don Quixote interacts directly with the printing industry and the printing market. The significant description of the shop, and all the references to printing techniques, mechanisms and prices are meaningful details and show us how familiar the protagonist is with the book world:

As they strolled down a street, Don Quixote happened to look up and he saw written in large letters over a door the words 'Book Printed Here', which pleased him no end, because he'd never seen a printing house and was keen to know what they were like. In he went with all his retinue and he saw men printing in one place, correcting in another, setting up the type over here, and, in short, all the different activities of a large printing-house. Don Quixote would approach one compartment and ask what was being done there; the workmen told him, he expressed his amazement, and moved on. In another area he went up to a man and asked him what he was doing (II, 62, p. 914).

Beyond this, Cervantes offers us a representation of an urban and truly 'disastric' public (again: children, adolescents, grown men and old men). As it happens in the dukes' court, even here Don Quixote is known by everyone, for they have all heard of his adventures. Even if they cannot recognize his face, they can recognize his name and everyone makes fun of him and his story. They are readers and well aware of the parody mechanism. Without doubt, this is the audience we have been talking about, created by the massive circulation of the printed book. Cervantes describes on this occasion the city as a fulcrum of written and printed culture, with access to the newest communication shared by the entire population, and with readers who developed new interpretive strategies and conventions.

In conclusion, it is important to reiterate how the role of print culture is essential to understanding the context in which Cervantes created his characters and allowed them to evolve and act. The printing industry is one of the cornerstones of the cultural revolution that determined material changes in reading practices and stimulated the creation of a new public.<sup>23</sup> This new audience,

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23 See: Lucien Febvre and Henri-Jean Martin, *L'apparition du livre* (Paris: Albin Michel, 1971) and Elizabeth Eisenstein, *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change: Communications and Cultural Transformations in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979).

which was itself to influence literary production, made new and different uses of the book. It is exactly this fresh approach that can eventually help us throwing light on the interpretive mechanisms, not only of the characters of the novel, but also of Golden Age Spanish society as an interpretive community with its shared and common ways of creating meaning and making sense of its reality.

# ‘Reasons of State for Any Author’: Common Sense, Translation, and the International Republic of Letters

*José María Pérez Fernández*

## A Transnational Third Space

During the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries prefaces and dedicatory epistles frequently insisted on the subjective nature of the moral judgment that readers should wield when approaching their texts. Transferring responsibility to each individual reader relieved authors, translators and publishers from the task of producing a more explicitly moralistic volume, which in turn made these texts more appealing to the wider and far more varied audiences that could now gain access to them.

These paratexts responded to the pressures of censorship, but also to changes in the material conditions for the production and consumption of printed matter. The loss of social and intellectual prestige brought about by the easy and relatively inexpensive access to literary discourse facilitated by the commercial theatre and the mass-production of chapbooks, pamphlets and other affordable formats was a source of much anxiety among authors, who felt exposed and vulnerable in the face of what Alexandra Halasz has called the ‘structural change in the conditions of discursive production’.<sup>1</sup>

The development of this market for cheap print encouraged more intellectually ambitious authors to target reading communities well beyond academic circles or the traditional networks of aristocratic patronage, but also distinct from the new mass of undiscerning urban consumers. This resulted in the creation of an ideal reader whose understanding equipped him to appreciate

1 Alexandra Halasz. *The Marketplace of Print. Pamphlets and the Public Sphere in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), p. 4. See also ‘The Creation of a European Book Market’, in Andrew Pettegree (ed.), *The Book in the Renaissance* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2010), pp. 65–90. For cheap print and pamphlets, see the work of Joad Raymond, in particular his ‘Introduction: networks, communication, practice’, in Joad Raymond (ed.), *News Networks in Seventeenth-Century Britain and Europe* (London: Routledge, 2007), pp. 1–18. On the Spanish book market, see D.W. ‘Cruikshank’s “Literature” and the Book Trade in Golden-Age Spain’, *Modern Language Review*, 73:4 (1978), pp. 799–824.

the intellectual and aesthetic virtues of the volume in question. This reader could absorb the texts and their rhetoric properly through an enlarged and critically enhanced subjectivity endowed with the judicious capacity to take in the proper exempla – both positive and negative – displayed in the volumes. This phenomenon went hand in hand with the first hints at a theory of taste that could be used to legitimize a new kind of elite, a meritocracy of wit and *ingenio* – the natural cognitive and creative power that turned one of these individuals into a discerning and judicious reader. Intellectual and political debate, and above all, competing religious doctrines gave momentum to the constant flow of printed matter that came out of the European presses. The intersection of theological controversy with private self-interest and business transactions led to the growth of a heterogeneous public sphere founded upon the concept of *adiaphora*. The actual import of this term when it came to trade and economic relations stemmed from the frequent obliteration of religious differences to prevent them from interfering with the flow of goods and capital. *Adiaphora* originated within classical stoicism to describe morally neutral actions. It was then introduced into the realm of theology to denote those aspects of doctrinal debate which did not substantially affect the key terms of the dispute. In a period of intense theological controversy, it naturally became an important intellectual tool for the pursuit of ecumenism. And it evolved until, as Gary Taylor has pointed out, ‘in the end *indifference* or *disinterestedness* was itself canonized as the most important social, cultural and intellectual virtue.’<sup>2</sup> With the ideal autonomous reader, *adiaphora* would also underpin the international republic of letters.

This chapter will focus on several case studies that illustrate the nature of the material and intellectual networks of authors, editors, publishers and translators who laid the foundations of this international republic of letters as a virtual third space between the inveterate system of aristocratic patronage and the growing mass of urban consumers. It shall first trace the evolution of the new conditions within the book market and the concerns they raised among authors through a comparison of some texts produced in England by

2 See Gary Taylor, ‘The cultural politics of Maybe’, in R. Dutton, A.G. Findlay & R. Wilson (eds.), *Lancastrian Shakespeare: Theatre and Religion* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2003), pp. 242–258 (p. 255). See also G.R. Evans, ‘*Sancta Indifferentia* and *Adiaphora*. “Holy Indifference” and “Things Indifferent”’, *Common Knowledge*, 15:1 (2009), pp. 23–38, for an account of the origins of the term and its role in the religious disputes of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; see also Thomas F. Mayer, ‘Starkey and Melanchthon on *Adiaphora*: A Critique of W. Gordon Zeeveld’, *The Sixteenth Century Journal*, 11/1 (1980), pp. 39–50. A good survey can also be found in Bernard J. Verkamp, *The Indifferent Mean: Diaphorism in the English Reformation to 1554*, (Detroit: Wayne State U.P., 1978).

Gabriel Harvey (*ca.* 1552–1631) and his circles with the pragmatic political vocabulary displayed a generation later by Antonio López de Vega (*ca.* 1586–1655) in Spain. Whereas Harvey and López de Vega shared the influence of international Ciceronianism, one of the most remarkable differences between them lies in the shift from the moral concerns of sixteenth-century humanism to the more pragmatic and disenchanting views expressed in the languages of neostoicism and Tacitism. The second part of this chapter will then examine the consequences deriving from the development of a new international market for the mass consumption of cultural products, chiefly printed matter, but also the public commercial stage. Situated between its status as a new form of mass entertainment in thriving urban milieus and its canonization as printed goods through the publication of the most successful among these plays, the public stage constitutes a uniquely dynamic phenomenon that illustrates these literary, intellectual and material developments.

The international republic of letters stood as a heterogeneous and adiaphoric public space that grew out of these manifold tensions. The interdisciplinary discourse that created and regulated it was woven with the languages of moral philosophy, politics and theology, as well as the vocabulary of traditional literary doctrine. Its agents were – to use an expression coined by Antonio López de Vega – *men of understanding* engaged in a transnational conversation sustained by *common language* and *common sense*. This pragmatic and consensual view of language and knowledge resulted from the intersection between the new trends of cultural and literary mercantilism, on the one hand, and more traditional aesthetic theories founded upon the discourse of what David Summers has called Renaissance Naturalism, on the other.<sup>3</sup>

### Communication among Men of Understanding: Language and the Civic Order

The Cambridge scholar Gabriel Harvey courted an elitist and learned audience with his works in Latin (*Ciceronianus*, 1577, or *Rhetor*, 1578) while trying to cater for the as yet select, but nevertheless more numerous, readers in the vernacular with his works in English. Pursuing prestige among the university wits, and the international elite of Neo-Latin culture, he could not fail to express his disdain for the book market and the multitudes that constantly demanded editorial novelty. The anxiety stirred by his desire to inscribe himself within

3 David Summers, *The Judgment of Sense. Renaissance Naturalism and the Rise of Aesthetics* (Cambridge: University Press, 1987).

the aristocracy of wit, his pursuit of fame, and the unavoidable plunge into the bookstalls of Saint Paul's Churchyard, frequented by all sorts of people, is patently acknowledged in one of his letters to Edmund Spenser.<sup>4</sup>

Harvey declares here that 'in publishing' his poems 'abroad in print', he has been exposed 'to the use, or rather, abuse, of others', and his works have become 'prostituted devices'.<sup>5</sup> He anxiously acknowledges that the printed poems are already irretrievable, and consequently 'they must needs in all haste no remedye be sett to sale in Bartholomewe and Sturbridge fayer'; 'how will my right worshipfull and thrise venerable masters of Cambridge', he frets, 'scorne at the matter?'.<sup>6</sup> Harvey imagines his printed material for sale at the bookstalls, ventriloquizing the voice of the bookseller hustling his goods before the prospective buyer.<sup>7</sup>

Gabriel Harvey illustrates the paradoxes and pitfalls incurred in the simultaneous pursuit of a language common to all that can gather within the public sphere if not a majority at least a sufficiently large group of individuals endowed with the natural potential for a discerning wit, on one hand, and the creation of a new aristocracy of the mind, on the other. Harvey's strategy was to push for a *via media*, not just in terms of form and content, but in terms of attitude, above all when it came to debates in the public arena. This defense of moderation is inseparable from the adoption of a style moulded by reason – what Lisa Jardine has described as 'the art of reasonable discoursing'.<sup>8</sup>

4 'To his very unfrendly frende that procurid the edition of his so slender and extemporall devises'. It was published by Edward John Long Scott (ed.), *Letter-Book of Gabriel Harvey*, 1573–80, (S.L., Camden Society, 1884), v. 1. The edition consulted here is Alexander B. Grosart (ed.), *The Works of Gabriel Harvey*, (London: The Huth Library, 1884), v. 1.

5 *The Works of Gabriel Harvey*, p. 112 and p. 119.

6 *Ibid.*, p. 113 and p. 114.

7 *Ibid.*, p. 113.

8 See Lisa Jardine, 'The Place of Dialectic Teaching in Sixteenth-Century Cambridge', *Studies in the Renaissance* 21(1974), pp. 31–62, (p. 62). In the same article, p. 50, Jardine lists Valla's *Elegantiae* and Erasmus's *Apophthegmata* among the manuals of style that took the place of more traditional rhetoric in the education of students at the University of Cambridge. Another handbook frequently used in Harvey's Cambridge was Rudolph Agricola's *De inventione dialectica libri tres*, in which dialectic is described as 'the practical study of the ways in which we communicate knowledge to others', p. 51. According to Jardine, 'Agricola's emphasis on invention, like Cicero's before him, signals an approach to dialectic which aims at extracting from Aristotelian logic the bare minimum of formal apparatus, and building on this a largely descriptive study of language use' (italics are mine). For more details on this aspect of Harvey's work, see Anthony Grafton and Lisa Jardine, *From Humanism to the Humanities. Education and the Liberal Arts in Fifteenth- and Sixteenth-Century Europe* (London, Duckworth, 1986), pp. 184–196. Harvey explicitly acknowledges the authority of Agricola and other scholars in his own published work: 'Rodolph Agricola, Philip Melanchton, Ludouike



The trope that Harvey used to argue in favour of harmony was that of the variously proportioned body parts – a common figure in classical handbooks for rhetorical balance in orations, and even more frequent in the well-established metaphor of the body politic. In one of his published letters, addressed to 'the same fauorable, or indifferent, reader', he declared that his intention was to see

Learning flourish: Vertue prosper: the good proceede from better to better: the bad amend: the Body cherish the members: the Members tender the body: all generally maintaine Concord with all: every one particularly nurrish accord with every one.<sup>9</sup>

In his famous public controversy with Thomas Nashe, Harvey contrasts his opponent's 'overreaching' style with the kind of moderation and temperance associated with 'Civilitie or Rhetorique'. Here Nashe's aggressive attitude amounts to the rhetorical dismembering of Harvey's arguments and sentences, the overall butchering of his 'whole meaning'. To this effect, Nashe used the panoply of outlandish stylistic devices that were common currency in the literary and theatrical markets of late sixteenth-century London:

His gayest floorishes, are but Gascoignes weedes, or Tarletons trickes, or Greenes crankes, or Marlowes brauados: his iestes, but the dregges of common scurrilitie, or the shreds of the theater, or the of-scouring of new Pamflets [...] his lustiest verdure, but ranke ordure, not to be named in Ciuitie, or Rhetorique: his only Art, & the vengeable drift of his whole cunning, to mangle my sentences, hack my arguments, chopp and change my phrases, wrinch my wordes, and hale euery sillable most extremely, euen to the disioynting, and maiming of my whole meaning.<sup>10</sup>

In contrast, Harvey proclaimed the need to *temper* one's style for the sake of civic harmony and peace, in what amounts to an attitudinal and rhetorical version of *adiaphora*. Whatever 'distempered phrase' may have unwillingly

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Vives, Peter Ramus, and diuers excellent schollers, haue earnestly complained of Artes corrupted, and notably reformed many absurdities', in Gabriel Harvey, *Four letters, and certaine sonnets especially touching Robert Greene, and other parties, by him abused: but incidently of diuers excellent persons, and some matters of note. To all courteous mindes, that will vouchsafe the reading* (London: John Wolfe & Robert Robinson, 1592) (USTC 512126), p. 56.

9 Harvey, *Four letters*, Hiv.

10 Gabriel Harvey, *Pierces supererogation or a new prayse of the old asse. A preparative to certaine larger discourses, intituled Nashes s. fame* (London: John Wolfe, 1593) (USTC 512372), H4v-lir.

escaped the author's attention must be met by his reader's 'good acceptance with *indifferency*' (my italics).<sup>11</sup>

The urban circles of Harvey's London were, like the Madrid of Antonio López de Vega's *Paradoxas racionales* (1641), the milieus where 'la comunicación de los hombres entendidos', i.e. the communication among men of understanding, was established through the exchange of *tempered* texts that were expected to be produced and met with *indifferency*. A generation after Harvey, López de Vega would describe these *men of understanding* as 'los amantes de la filosofía (o del mediano, o sea del ínfimo orden civil), la nobleza del saber y la del obrar como racionales', i.e. 'the lovers of philosophy (or of the middling, that is, of the inferior civil order), the aristocracy of knowing and acting as rational individuals'.<sup>12</sup> And this middling civil order expresses itself through an equally tempered register, presided by 'moderación' and 'prudencia' vs 'la pompa vana'.<sup>13</sup> López de Vega also confirms that there was an international dimension to these originally domestic developments.

*Paradoxas racionales* is a dialogue between a courtier and a philosopher. In its first part these two protagonists visit a former courtier who, prey to worldly disenchantment, has given up his aulic ambitions and retired to a villa in the outskirts of the city. But in contrast with the traditional dichotomy between court and country, he has opted for a middle course between the stress of public life and the rural lifestyle of the country mouse. He wants the peace and quiet of nature without renouncing to the 'comunicación de los hombres entendidos' that can only be enjoyed in a city that brings together individuals not just from all over Spain, but also from foreign provinces and nations:

But, how can even the most disenchanted and circumspect of wits, fail to enjoy the communication among men of understanding, who flock into Madrid in large numbers, not just from all over Spain, but from all foreign provinces and nations, many of them with the aim of settling here for good?<sup>14</sup>

11 Harvey, *Four Letters*, Azv ('To all courteous minds, that will vouchsafe the readinge').

12 Antonio López de Vega, *Paradoxas racionales, escritas en forma de diálogos del género narrativo la primera, del activo las demás, entre un cortesano i un filósofo*, [1641], E. Buceta (ed.), (Madrid: Junta para Ampliación de Estudios & Centro de Estudios Históricos, 1935), p. 46. Unless otherwise indicated all English translations are mine.

13 López de Vega, *Paradoxas racionales*, p. 108.

14 'Pero la comunicación de los hombres entendidos, que no sólo de toda Hespaña [*sic*], más bien de todas las provincias y naciones extranjeras, acuden en tanto número a Madrid, i muchos d'ellos a vivir de assiento, ¿cómo puede dexar de apetecerla el más desengañado i más circunspecto sabio?', López de Vega, *Paradoxas racionales*, p. 16.

In contrast with Harvey's focus upon the stylistic and moral tenors of public debate and reader reception, Antonio López de Vega exemplifies the mercantilist pragmatism that drove a similar search for a universal adiaphoric reader. In 1652 he printed in a single volume a new edition of his political treatise *El perfeto señor, sueño politico* (first issued in 1626) alongside other unpublished material.<sup>15</sup> In his prologue López de Vega provides an account of the strategies that authors had to adopt in their search for larger audiences. He declares he had been moved to publish a second edition of *El perfeto señor* because the first one issued very few copies. This scarcity had increased the demand for the book, and made it truly valuable. From this particular case López de Vega reaches the general principle that, by contrast with the rule of Nature, in which precious materials are rare, within human societies scarcity, by and of itself and for no other reason, turns things into precious commodities:

For particular reasons very few were printed in the first edition; and this was enough to increase the wish for it, because whereas it is more common in Nature for Precious things to be rare, what is just Rare, for no other reason and in no rare occasions, also becomes Precious.<sup>16</sup>

López de Vega adds that his work seeks to please both 'a la edad Provecta' (old age) as well as the 'Eruditos moços' (the enlightened youth), by combining in the same volume moral and political treatises with a collection of poems on a variety of topics. He does so because, at the end of the day: 'common Applause constitutes the achievement and convenience of those who write'.<sup>17</sup> He concludes that the combination of light with heavy matter within the same volume is a stratagem to make his volume more *vario* and *general* and, quite literally, more ponderous: 'the volume in the end, grows more varied, becomes more general, and more corpulent too'.<sup>18</sup> He describes this set of strategies as:

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15 Antonio López de Vega, *El perfeto señor: sueño politico; con otros varios discursos, y ultimas poesias* (Madrid: Imprenta Real, 1652).

16 'Por fin particular se imprimieron la primera vez muy pocos; i basto esto para hazerse deseado, que si bien es mas común en la Naturaleza, el ser lo Precioso raro sabe también no raras veces, sin que concurra otra razón, hazerse lo Raro Precioso', López de Vega, *El perfeto señor*, [5].

17 'En el común Aplauso consiste el logro, i conveniencia del que escribe', *El perfeto señor*, [6].

18 'El Volumen, al fin se haze con esto mas vario, se haze mas general, i tambien mas corpulento', *El perfeto señor*, [7].

'stratagems, all of them, and Reasons of State, for any author who does not wish to vanish by underestimating common approval'.<sup>19</sup>

This combination of disenchanted pragmatism and the language of Machiavellian Tacitism in the public sphere, with the private neostoic morality of the philosophical middle ground provided a political vocabulary which could also be used for the intellectual legitimization of self-interested, commercial strategies in the production and distribution of volumes like this one. The political historian Richard Tuck has emphasised the mercantilist language used by reason of state writers as one of the main differences between the public morality of sixteenth century Ciceronian humanism, and the neostoicism of the early seventeenth-century.<sup>20</sup> This pragmatic spirit, combined with a tempered and colloquial prose style evinces echoes of Cicero – some of which might have reached López de Vega via Montaigne's famous essay on 'De l'utile et de l'honnête'.<sup>21</sup> In his 'Paradoja sexta', López de Vega proclaims that 'I do not intend in this doctrine to establish what is more *honest*, but to find what in the matter we are disputing about is usually more useful'.<sup>22</sup> The matter he is discussing in this particular section is literary controversy, and the subtitle of this paradoja reveals its self-interested pragmatism: 'in literary controversies, modesty is more unhelpful than profitable, and those who cannot come forth with a fearsome tenor will not gain any estimation in their substance'.<sup>23</sup>

19 'Estratagemas todas, i Razones de Estado de cualquier Escritor, que no quiera desvanecerse, en hazer punto del Menosprecio del comun Agrado', *El perfecto señor*, [7].

20 Richard Tuck. *Philosophy and Government, 1572–1651* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), pp. xii–xiii. On the pragmatism of López de Vega and its intellectual foundations, see César A. Núñez, 'Un solitario en la corte. Las *Paradojas racionales* de Antonio López de Vega', *Nueva Revista de Filología Hispánica*, 55 (2007), pp. 77–119, pp. 97–98 *et passim*.

21 'On the useful and the honourable' in M.A. Screech's recent translation, Michel de Montaigne, *The Complete Essays* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1993); the essay is in Book III, pp. 891–906. In 1613, John Florio translated it more significantly, as 'On Profit and Honesty', a rendering that does justice to the complex dimensions of the original (including its mercantilist overtones) and its English reception within the milieu of early seventeenth-century London – *Essays written in French by Michael Lord of Montaigne*, trans. John Florio (London: Melch. Bradvood for Edvvard Blunt and William Barret, 1613), pp. 443–451.

22 'No es mi intento determinar en esta doctrina lo que es más *honesto*, sino descubrir lo que en la materia que disputamos suele ser más *útil*', López de Vega, *Paradojas racionales*, p. 128 (my italics). On p. 132 López de Vega insists again that he is more interested in what is useful, rather than what is honest.

23 'En las contiendas literarias, más desayuda que aprovecha la modestia, i el que no se hiziere temer con el modo no se hará estimar en la sustancia', López de Vega, *Paradojas racionales*, p. 132.

The preface to López de Vega's *Heráclito y Demócrito* demonstrates how the pragmatic search for the ideal reader also facilitated the creation of a new standard for a learned but *tempered* style that does not indulge in extremes.<sup>24</sup> In a prologue that he addresses to those 'few sane and disenchanted men' ('A los pocos cuerdos y desengañados varones');<sup>25</sup> he proclaims his disdain for the ignorant crowd, and within this category of *vulgus* he includes arrogant aristocrats, the ungenerous and vainglorious plutocrats, as well as impertinent pedants:

I write only for you. *Odi profanum Vulgus, & arceo*, whether those who, because they enjoyed an illustrious birth and without any personal effort, esteemed themselves above others; whether those who, because they are wealthy, believe they are something and not tending to the succour of others, desire to be vainly worshipped, and this vanity they want at a low cost; whether those who swell and vanish because they are studious and witty in impertinent matters. More or less lucid, all of these are for me part of the *Vulgar*, and I will not accept any Vulgar imparting Judgment upon my Writings.<sup>26</sup>

He justifies the common and colloquial register that he is about to use in this work, mixing the high with the low, because classical doctrine dictates that the familiar style most fits a dialogue. The diversity of the speakers and the variety of topics justify the occasional plebeian expressions and turns of phrase. They also account for the combination of serious and comic matter, all for the sake of the verisimilar recreation of what goes on in an authentic conversation:

Thus, you will not be offended that, amongst my Courtiers and Philosophers, language may circulate common and unaffected, and that, depending on the matter, it may wax ornate, or somewhat elevated; it may even debate and speak, on occasion, in Scholastic terms; for there is no

24 López de Vega, *Heráclito y Demócrito de nuestro siglo ... Diálogos morales sobre tres materias, La Nobleza, La Riqueza y Las Letras* (Madrid: por Diego Díaz de la Carrera a costa de Alonso Pérez, 1641) (USTC 5033978).

25 *Ibid.*, p. 14.

26 'Para vosotros sólo escribo. *Odi profanum Vulgus, & arceo*, ya sea el que por haber nacido ilustre, sin poner nada de su parte, piensa ser más que los otros; ya el que por verse rico, imagina que es algo; y no atendiendo al Socorro ajeno, quiere vanamente ser venerado, y que la vanidad le cueste poco; ya el que se hincha y desvanece por Estudioso, y Docto en lo impertinente. Más o menos lúcido, todo esto para mi es Vulgo; y a ningún Vulgar admito al Juicio de mis Escritos', *Ibid.*, p. [14].

sin in unevenness here; nor is there in the use of any plebeian and jesting word or phrase, introduced amidst the most grave, because, insofar as it befits the circumstance and the particular occasion, it results in the proper imitation of what goes on in conversations amongst jocular wits.<sup>27</sup>

Thomas Nashe and Gabriel Harvey were also engaged in a particular case of 'comunicación de los hombres entendidos' – albeit not one held in the civilized terms that Harvey promoted, as we have seen. Nashe is another example of a hack situated between the networks of patronage and the pursuit of a new status as an independent author – in other words, as increasingly dependent on the material conditions of the market. He also appears concerned with the mercantilization of literary discourse that the publishing business has brought about. In his preface to Greene's *Menaphon* he declares his intention to 'persecute those idiots and their heirs unto the third generation, that have made Art bankerout of her ornaments, and sent Poetry a begging up and downe the Country'.<sup>28</sup> Nashe's earliest work, *The Anatomie of Absurditie* (1589) was presented in its dedicatory preface as a satire on the defacers of Art.<sup>29</sup> In the same introduction Nashe gives the reader an account of a conversation with other men 'of most excellent parts' which takes as its starting point Castiglione's *Courtier*. Each of these men of understanding defends a particular virtue as the true badge of a good courtier. One of them declares this to be *facetudinis*, which Nashe translates as *discoursing* – and which can be identified with the moderation and reasonable affability defended by Harvey.<sup>30</sup> The fourth interlocutor

27 'Así no os ofenderá que entre mis Cortesanos Filósofos corra tal vez común y desenfadado el lenguaje, y tal (conforme a la materia) se realce, y encrespe un poco; se arguya, y hable en alguna ocasion, a lo Escolástico; que no es aquí la desigualdad pecado; como ni también alguna voz o frasis plebeya, i de chanza, entreverada entre las graves, porque guardándose la circunstancia de la ocasión, se viene así a imitar con propiedad lo que pasa en conversaciones de doctos joviales', *Ibid.*, pp. [17–18].

28 Thomas Nashe, 'To the Gentlemen Students of both Uniuersities', in Robert Greene, *Menaphon*, (London: Printed by T[homas] O[rwin] for Sampson Clarke, and are to be sold behinde the Royall Exchange, 1589) (USTC 511254), A3r.

29 *The anatomie of absurditie: contayning a breefe confutation of the slender imputed prayses to feminine perfection, with a short description of the seuerall practises of youth, and sundry follies of our licentious times* (London, Printed by I. Charlewood for Thomas Hacket, 1589) (USTC 511295).

30 See for instance Cicero, *De oratore*, I.viii.32–34 (Cambridge, Mass. & London, England: Harvard University Press, 1996), pp. 24–27; Cicero, *De officiis*, I.vii.23, trans. W. Miller (London & New York: W. Heinemann & G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1928), pp. 24–25. On the notion of language as currency, see also Horace's *The Art of Poetry*, 58–62, 70–72, trans. H.R. Fairclough (Cambridge, Mass. & London, England: Harvard University Press, 1978),

in this conversation declares that the true courtier must simply show scholarship and courage. Conversation woven with *reasonable discoursing* constitutes the link that facilitates the creation of this community of gentlemen-scholars debating on the nature of true courtesy. Participation in civilized conversation in turn legitimizes each of them as members of a new type of nobility, the meritocracy of gentle wit or the republic of letters.<sup>31</sup> A similar idea finds a new expression some decades later in López de Vega's 'veneration for the true and natural aristocracy of the intellectual parts and rational customs'.<sup>32</sup>

### Translation, Common Sense and the Currency of Language

The different pressures exerted by literary, intellectual, religious and political controversy in combination with the structural shifts in the production and distribution of literary discourse resulted thus in the emergence of the discerning reader as an enlightened consumer who engaged in conversation with his peers through the currency of a common register. This civilized exchange legitimised the pursuit of self-interest within a mercantile milieu, and enfranchised the eloquent speaker as a citizen in the republic of letters. The rules for this kind of intercommunicative self-fashioning arose from the examples and doctrines contained in humanist dialogues and, more explicitly, in the manuals on the art of conversation that proliferated in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Handbooks for language learning, multilingual anthologies, phrase-books, collections of proverbs and aphorisms in several languages, but above all, translations, were the vehicles that facilitated the circulation of communicative currency and constituted the infrastructure for the establishment of a truly European conversation among men of understanding.<sup>33</sup>

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pp. 454–455, 456–457; Quintilian, *Institutio Oratoria*, I.vi.3, trans. H.E. Butler (Cambridge, Mass. & London, England: Harvard University Press, 1996), pp. 112–113. There are frequent echoes of this doctrine in early modernity: Giovanni Pontano's *De bello neapolitano et de sermone* (Napoli, ex officina Sigismondo Mayr, 1509) constitutes one of the most eloquent examples: see for instance book Liii.1–2, also book Lxiii, 1; book Lvii, 1. See too Giovanni Giovano Pontano, *De Sermone. De la conversation*. [1509], trans. Florence Bistagne (Paris: Honoré Champion, 2008). See also Juan Luis Vives's *In pseudodialecticos* [1519], Charles Fantazzi (ed.), (Leiden: Brill, 1979), pp. 36 and 39.

31 Nashe, 1589, dedicatory preface 'To the right worshipfull Charles Blunt Knight', p. [3].

32 '... veneración para la verdadera i natural nobleza de la parte intelectual i costumbres racionales', López de Vega, *Paradoxas racionales*, p. 42.

33 Recent scholarship on this subject includes Joyce Boro, 'Multilingualism, Romance, and Language Pedagogy; or Why Were So Many Sentimental Romances Printed as Polyglot

The use of similar vocabularies for trade, translation and the establishment of common linguistic norms had already become an incipient trend well before the turn of the sixteenth century. The concerns about reader reception had also made a debut, in particular as regarded the social and individual consequences of the emotional potential within the texts that were starting to circulate in ever larger amounts. In *La Celestina*, first published in 1499, Fernando de Rojas had already created with his character Calisto the model of a *distempered* reader of popular romance fiction who prefigured Alonso Quijano as the obsessive consumer of chivalric fiction, another variety of popular print commodity. Portrayed as a tragicomic negative example for Rojas's readership, Calisto comes through as an immature brat who had fashioned his emotional life after the rhetorical models provided by the sort of Ovidian and Petrarchist texts that were so popular at the time. In the face of Calisto's rants, his servant Sempronio commonsensically advises him to abandon those poetic hyperboles, and turn to the language which is common to all, and which all can understand.<sup>34</sup> Fernando de Rojas was a student in Salamanca when the Spanish grammarian and rhetorician Elio Antonio de Nebrija was engaged in the grammatical and stylistic homogenization of Castilian upon the principles of authoritative legitimacy and common usage provided by the epistemological and linguistic model of the Italian scholar Lorenzo Valla. Valla, in turn, had pioneered a refashioning of scholastic dialectic and philosophy through classical rhetoric, with a particular emphasis on the importance of *consuetudo* and *usus loquendi* as principles for proper language use and, most importantly, as epistemological tools for the articulation and communication of knowledge.<sup>35</sup>

This epistemological and linguistic background runs parallel to the development of the new trends within the book markets that we have been tracing over the course of the sixteenth and the early seventeenth centuries. In combination with the joint pressures of market mechanisms and censorship, there were three other different pulls building up the main tensions that would

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Texts?' in F. Schurink (ed.), *Tudor Translation* (London: Palgrave, 2011), pp. 18–38 and Rocio G. Sumillera, 'Language Manuals and the Book Trade in England', in José María Pérez Fernández and Edward Wilson-Lee (eds.), *Translation and the Book Trade in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), pp. 61–80.

34 'Good sir, leave off these circumlocutions; leave off these poetical fictions: for that speech is not comely which is not common unto all, which all men partake not of as well as yourself, of which few do but understand', Fernando de Rojas, *The Spanish Bawd* [1631], trans. James Mabbe, ed. José María Pérez Fernández, (London: MHRA, 2013), 8.345–48, 228.

35 For further details, see Lodi Nauta, *In Defense of Common Sense. Lorenzo Valla's Humanist Critique of Scholastic Philosophy* (Cambridge, MA and London: Harvard University Press, 2009), pp. 274–291.



eventually lead to the appearance of this *discerning reader*.<sup>36</sup> First there was the *ignorant multitude*, the large variety of consumers who could afford easy access to printed material in the vernacular. But beyond print, these audiences had also gained access to literary discourse through the public stage in even larger amounts. In the second place, there were the more prestigious circles of learned authors and readers, either those associated with aristocratic values – among them the courtly elite audiences for certain types of lyric and epic poetry – or those attached to academic and ecclesiastical cadres, such as the international elite of Neo-Latin readers. The third one resulted, as we have seen, from the need to carve out a new public space, at the same time distinct from ancient aristocratic values and their heroic ideals, but also surgically excised from the contaminating contact with the affect-dominated *vulgo*, the *ignorant multitude* and their base instincts. These pulls eventually led to the emergence of the concepts of *understanding* and *taste*, *discreción* and *ingenio*, as the inherent potentials of a new discerning reader whose tempered style engaged in a conversation with other men to weave a language common to all.

The paratexts in Mateo Alemán's *Guzmán de Alfarache* exemplify this threefold division of tensions.<sup>37</sup> This picaresque novel features three different prologues. The first is a dedication to an aristocratic patron, the second is addressed 'al vulgo', and the third 'al discreto lector'. The succession of these three different prologues, skillfully linked to each other by allusion and rhetorical disposition, constitutes Alemán's enaction of the dialectics of the period: first, an appeal to the aristocracy in order to obtain legitimacy and protection from the onslaughts of the *vulgar*; this *ignorant crowd* in turn gets its own rebuke in the second prologue; the final resolution rises through Alemán's appeal 'al discreto lector'. In seeking the protection of an aristocrat, Mateo Alemán displays his anxieties before the mass audiences of vulgar readers: '... it was needful for me, to helpe my selfe, and make vse of your Lordships protection...', he declares, from those of 'evill intention ... and secret ill meaning', that is, the commoners he describes as 'those that are of obscure Bloud, humble Birth,

36 On the *discerning reader* see Julian Weiss, 'Between the Censor and the Critic: Reading the Vernacular Classic in Early Modern Spain', in María José Vega, Julian Weiss, & Cesc Esteve (eds.), *Reading and Censorship in Early Modern Europe* (Bellaterra: Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, 2010), pp. 93–112 (pp. 95–96).

37 Mateo Alemán, *Primera parte de Guzmán de Alfarache* (Madrid, en casa de Pedro Várez de Castro, 1599) (USTC 334168), *Segunda parte* (Lisboa, Pedro Craesbeeck, 1604) (USTC 5009845). This was translated into English by James Mabbe as *The Rogue, or the life of Guzman de Alfarache* (London: Edward Blount, 1623) (USTC 3010927).

and base mindes'.<sup>38</sup> Alemán acknowledges that the publication of his book has exposed him to the opinion and censure of the vulgar: 'the Barbarisme, and dis-equall number of those ignorant Dolts, to whose censure I submitted my selfe'.<sup>39</sup>

Against this background, Lope de Vega's famous claim in his *Arte nuevo de hacer comedias* of 1609 that his poetics were dictated by the tastes and demands of the *vulgo*, and that he devised his comedies to please the 'ignorant multitude', reveals the true measure of its provocative intent. 'I write', Lope proclaimed, 'following the rules of the art invented by those who sought the applause of the vulgar: since the vulgar pays for them [i.e. my comedies], it is fair to address them in vulgar terms to please them'.<sup>40</sup> The most recent editor of Lope's *Arte*, García Santo-Tomás, has emphasized the non-prescriptive nature of Lope's *Arte nuevo*, but rather the fact that it simply described the situation of the stage in Madrid. García Santo-Tomás adds that beyond the academic audience for which it was initially composed – it was first delivered as an oration before a literary academy in Madrid – the *Arte Nuevo* addresses his ideal, implicit reader.<sup>41</sup>

Alemán's appeal to the 'discreto lector' in the third prologue proclaims that his aim in writing this work has been to serve the common good: 'it was my sole purpose, to guide the prow for the publicke good'.<sup>42</sup> He gives full leave to the discreet reader to moralize at his pleasure, with a wide margin of liberty

38 Alemán, *The Rogue*, [4v]; '... fue necesario valerme de la protección de Vuestra Señoría, en quien con tanto resplandor se manifiestan las tres partes – virtud, sangre y poder – de que se compone la verdadera nobleza', Mateo Alemán, *Guzmán de Alfarache*, ed. José María Micó (Madrid, Cátedra, 1987), 2 vols., I, p. 107. Alemán, *The Rogue*, [4r]; 'De las cosas que suelen causar más temor a los hombres, no sé cuál sea mayor o pueda compararse con una mala intención; y con mayores versa cuanto más estuviere arraigada en los de *oscura sangre, nacimiento humilde y bajos pensamientos*', Alemán, *Guzmán*, p. 106 (my italics).

39 Alemán, *The Rogue*, [6r]; 'Tal he salido del proemio pasado, imaginando en el barbarismo y número desigual de los ignorantes, a cuya censura me obligué, como el que sale a voluntario destierro y no es en su mano la vuelta', Alemán, *Guzmán*, p. 110.

40 '... y escribo por el arte que inventaron / los que el vulgar aplauso pretendieron / porque, como las paga el vulgo, es justo / hablarle en necio para darle gusto', Lope de Vega, *Rimas ahora de nuevo añadidas con el nuevo arte de comedias deste tiempo* (Madrid, por Alonso Martín de Balboa a costa de Alonso Pérez, 1609) (USTC 5006052), lines 45–48.

41 Lope de Vega, *Arte nuevo de hacer comedias*, ed. Enrique García Santo-Tomás (Madrid: Cátedra, 2006), 44–45; on Cervantes and his quest for popularity and the discerning reader, see p. 67.

42 *The Rogue*, 1623, [6r]; 'a solo el bien común puse la proa, si de tal bien fuese digno que a ello sirviese' (Mateo Alemán, *Guzmán*, p. 111).

to do so: 'In this Discourse, thou maist moralize things, as they shall be offered unto thee, *Thou hast a large margent left thee to doe it*'.<sup>43</sup> The discerning reader appears in possession of an understanding capable of exercising the freedom to interpret a potentially ambiguous or even pernicious text in a responsible manner, without incurring in the follies and perversions of misreaders like Calisto or Alonso Quijano. The interpretation of the text is left to the liberal imagination of each among these discreet and autonomous readers.

A similar attitude can be detected in prologues and dedications of English plays during the late sixteenth and the early years of the seventeenth centuries. Michael Neill has provided very revealing statistics about the plays produced and published over the period 1576–1642, many of which yield a virtual list of *discerning cognoscenti* made up of all the dedicatees of their prologues.<sup>44</sup> They constitute the elite that Glapthorne, in the prologue to his *Lady's Privilege*, calls 'Wits most accomplished Senate'.<sup>45</sup> It is significant that this trope appears in the context of Caroline audiences and their taste for tragicomedies, in particular when we take into account the parallelism that Guarini had established between tragicomedies and republics, both of which mixed the higher with the lower classes. This made them more verisimilar and representative, in poetic as well as in political terms. Guarini declares that tragicomedies are 'mirrors of human relations':

Does not Aristotle say that tragedy is made up of persons of high rank and comedy of men of the people? Let us give an example of men of rank and men of the people. The republic is such a thing ... Is not tragedy an imitation of the great and comedy an imitation of the humble? Are not the humble opposite to the great? Why cannot poetry make the mixture if politics can do it?<sup>46</sup>

43 Alemán, *The Rogue*, [6v]; 'En el discurso podrás moralizar según se te ofreciere: larga margen te queda', Alemán, *Guzmán*, p. 112 (my italics).

44 Michael Neill, "Wits most accomplished Senate": The Audience of Caroline Private Theaters", *Studies in English Literature*, 78 (1978), pp. 341–360. The plays that he samples include Webster's dedication to *The Devil's Law Case* (1623) and *The Duchess of Malfi* (1633), or Heywood's dedication to Marlowe's *Jew of Malta*, and Middleton's preface to *The Roaring Girl* (1611).

45 "The audience's corporate sense of itself as – in a metaphor the dramatists frequently employ – "a court of taste", "Wits most accomplished Senate", as Glapthorne called it in his *Lady's Privilege* prologue (1637–1640)', Neill, 'Wits most accomplished', p. 344.

46 Guarini, *The Compendium of Tragicomic Poetry* (1601), in Allan H. Gilbert (ed.), *Literary Criticism. Plato to Dryden* (New York: American Book Company, 1940), pp. 510–511.

Authors in Spain and in England offered their texts as merchants offered their commodities. In the same page in which he acknowledges the freedom that the discerning reader enjoys when it comes to interpreting his text, James Mabbe freely translates Alemán's original, which in its English version admits that 'this is merchantable ware, well-conditioned; and for such I recommend it unto thee'.<sup>47</sup> Marston's Induction to his *Malcontent* declares that 'any man that hath wit may censure if he sit in the twelve-penny room'.<sup>48</sup> In other words, a discerning wit in combination with purchasing potential enfranchises audiences to become magistrates at the court of taste. Like Lope de Vega in Madrid, London playwrights courted mixed audiences, which included the *mosqueteros* (the Spanish equivalent of the *groundlings* among London audiences), the aristocracy, and those individuals of discreet understanding. The relevance of the stage, in London and Madrid, as one of the main factors involved in the commodification of literary discourse appears in the tropes that some authors used when they expressed their anxieties about having to compete not just among the understanding courts of taste, but also within the more populous and unpredictable marketplace of print. Harvey, in the letter to Spenser mentioned above, complains that, by being printed and thus having his name exposed in the public arena he has become a sort of comic actor:

And canst thou tell me nowe, or doist thou at the last begin to imagin with thy selfe what a wonderfull and exceeding displeasure thou and thy printer have wrought me, and howe peremptorily ye have preiudishd my good name for ever in thrusting me thus on the stage to make tryall of my extemporall faculty, and to play Wylsons or Tarletons parte?<sup>49</sup>

Opinions about the ignorant crowd, and the *vulgo*, wavered in this period between those who despised and feared it, like Alemán, and those others who considered *vulgar* wisdom a sort of *natural* wit, spontaneous, uncontaminated by prejudice and therefore authentic. In seeking the protection of the aristocratic patron, or the approval of the discerning reader, authors were casting their lot with these social, or intellectual, elites, i.e. submitting to their authority as they sought their legitimacy. They did so in fear of the authority that had arisen out of the new material conditions for the production of literary discourse: the *vulgo*, the looming *ignorant crowd* that expressed its views through

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47 Alemán, *The Rogue*, [6v].

48 Quoted by Neill, 'Wits most accomplished', note 23, p. 345.

49 'To his very unfrendly frende that procurid the edition of his so slender and extemporall devises', in Grosart, *The works of Gabriel Harsey*, p. 125.

the abstract notion of *common opinion*. In his play *Fair Maid of the Inn* (1626) Fletcher declares that 'plays have their fates'.

not as in their true sence  
They're understood, but as the influence  
Of idle custom, madly works upon  
The dross of many tongu'd opinion.<sup>50</sup>

Two years later, in 1628, the Spanish playwright Juan Ruiz de Alarcón published his *Comedias* in Madrid. His volume included the following address to the *vulgo*:

I speak to you, fierce beast ... there you have those comedies, deal with them as is your wont: not as it is fair, but as is your taste; they scorn you, and do not fear you, because they already underwent the dangers of your hissing, and now they can only suffer your ignorance. If they displease you, I will be pleased to know they are good, and if they are not, I will feel avenged by the money they must cost you.<sup>51</sup>

The joint action of the *vulgo* – the mass of consumers of literary discourse – and opinion – the powerful leverage of commonly held views wielded by these audiences – conspired with the linguistic norms fixed by common usage to destabilize preestablished structures of signification and linguistic decorum. All these factors worked within a framework in which common sense was emerging as a mode of knowledge, a novel variety of epistemology within which the particular subject and the social universe interacted in a new fashion. The power of *discreción* is fundamental here as the tempering agent. *Discreción* is an inherent capacity that is not related to social extraction and displays itself in language. Cervantes proclaims in the second part of *Don Quijote* that:

El lenguaje puro, el propio, el elegante y claro, está en los discretos cortesanos, aunque hayan nacido en Majalahonda; dije *discretos* porque hay

50 Quoted by Neill, 'Wits most accomplished', p. 348.

51 'Contigo hablo, bestia fiera ... Allá van essas Comedias, trátalas como sueles, no como es justo, sino como es gusto, que ellas te miran con desprecio, y sin temor, como las que pasaron ya el peligro de tus silvos, y ahora pueden solo pasar el de tus rincones. Si te desagradaren, me holgaré de saber que son buenas, y si no, me vengará de saber que no lo son, el dinero que te han de costar', *Parte primera de las comedias de Juan Ruiz de Alarcón y Mendoza* (Madrid: por Juan González, a costa de Alonso Pérez, 1628) (USTC 5028117), f. Ivv.

muchos que no lo son, y la discreción es la gramática del buen lenguaje, que se acompaña con el uso.<sup>52</sup>

In 1620 Thomas Shelton rendered this passage thus:

The language is pure, proper, and elegant, (indeed) only in your discreet Courtiers, let them be borne where they will: discreet I say, because many are otherwise, and discretion is the Grammar of good language, which is accompanied with practice.<sup>53</sup>

The significant evolution of the concept and the general universe of discourse that sustains it is then splendidly inscribed in Tobias Smollett's eighteenth-century translation – still common currency among English readers today. Here Cervantes' 'discretos cortesanos' and Shelton's 'discreet Courtiers' have been naturalised as quintessentially Enlightened 'polite people of sense':

Purity, propriety, elegance and perspicuity [in language] are to be found among polite people of sense, tho' they be natives of Majalahonda: I say people of sense, because so great a number of people are not so, and sense is the foundation of good language, assisted by custom and use.<sup>54</sup>

In his *Viaje del Parnaso* of 1614, Cervantes acknowledges that the *vulgo* of Madrid were discreet enough to discern what was aesthetically proper and what not. In a frantic mock-epic episode which describes an allegorical battle of contemporary books and authors, the narrator of the poem expresses his amazement at the fact that bad plays manage to pass themselves off as divine, and aspire to be known and traded in the public sphere ('en el corro') at the expense of some other truly excellent plays; he concludes that the pretence of the former was to no avail in this market ('no ganaron mucho en esta feria') since the *vulgo* of Madrid is discreet ('Porque es discreto el vulgo de la

52 Miguel de Cervantes, *Don Quijote de la Mancha*, ed. Alberto Blecha (Madrid: Austral, 2004), II.xix, 'Donde se cuenta la aventura del pastor enamorado, con otros en verdad graciosos sucesos', p. 855.

53 Thomas Shelton (trans.), *The Second Part of the History of the Valorous and Witty Knight-Errant, Don Quixote de la Mancha*, (London: Edward Blount, 1620) (USTC 3009130), pp. 122–123.

54 Miguel de Cervantes, *Don Quixote*, trans. Tobias Smollett (New York: The Modern Library, 2004), Book II, in vol. II, Chapter II, 'In which is recounted the adventure of the enamoured shepherd, with other truly diverting incidents', p. 710.

Corte').<sup>55</sup> They may have disagreed on many other matters, but Lope de Vega and Miguel de Cervantes agreed in their common estimation of the literary opinion of the *vulgo*.

Dámaso de Frías, a contemporary and personal friend of Cervantes, was also a defender of common usage as the norm for proper and decorous language:

Since, as I have just said, it is usage, and only usage, what establishes and abolishes the propriety and rules of languages, I am of the opinion that all those who want to speak or write must make use of words and terms that, even though they may be new or farfetched, are already in use among men of discretion and authority.<sup>56</sup>

De Frías was also the author of an essay titled *Diálogo de la discreción*, written circa 1579. This treatise belongs in the tradition of the arts of conversation, and takes as its starting points Castiglione's *Il Cortegiano* and Giovanni Della Casa's *Galateo* (1558), coinciding also in time with other European handbooks on the art of conversation like Stephano Guazzo's *La civil conversazione* (1574).<sup>57</sup>

55 Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra, *Viage del Parnaso* (Madrid, Viuda de Alonso Martín, 1614) (USTC 5038979), book VII.313–321, 59–60.

56 'Siendo, pues, como digo, sólo el uso quien quita y pone en las lenguas propiedades y leyes de ellas, soy de parecer que con éste se tenga en cuenta y a éste sirvan cuanto bien quisieren hablar y escribir, y de aquellas palabras y términos se aprovechen, que, aunque nuevas o peregrinas, estén ya introducidas en el trato y uso de algunos discretos y autorizados hombres', Dámaso de Frías, *Diálogo de la discreción* (composed ca. 1579), printed for the first time in *Diálogos de diferentes materias*, prol. F. Rodríguez Marín, ed. Justo García Soriano (Madrid: Imp. de G. Hernández y Galo Sáez, Colección de Escritores Castellanos. Críticos, 1929), tomo 161, pp. 272–273; quoted in J.L. Pensado, *Una crisis en la lengua del imperio. El Diálogo de las Lenguas de Damasio de Frías*, (Salamanca: Ediciones de la Universidad de Salamanca, 1982), pp. 48–50.

57 Della Casa's work was translated into English by Robert Peterson in 1576, *Galateo ... Or ... A treatise of the man[n]ers and behaiours, it behoueth a man to vse and eschewe, in his familiar conuersation*. (London: [By Henry Middleton] for Raufe Newbery, 1576) (USTC 508172). George Pettie and Bartholomew Yong translated Guazzo's *The Civile Conversation* – Pettie translated the first three books in 1581 and Yong the fourth one in 1586, *The ciuile conuersation of M. Stephen Guazzo, written first in Italian, diuided into foure bookes, the first three translated out of French by G. pettie. In the first is contained in generall, the fruits that may be reaped by conuersation ... In the second, the manner of conuersation ... In the third is perticularlie set forth the orders to be obserued in conuersation within doores, betweene the husband and the wife ... In the fourth is set downe the forme of ciuile conuersation, by an example of a banquet, made in Cassale, betweene sixe lords and foure ladies. And now translated out of Italian into English by Barth. Young, of the middle Temple, Gent.* (London:

The art of conversation, in the opinion of de Frías, rests upon the pillars of moderation and decorum. Conversation must always adapt itself to the communicative context in which it takes place, following the *discreción* of each of the interlocutors. The adaptation of speech to communicative context through the application of the speakers' *discreción* results in 'un gentil y acertado discurso de raçon', i.e. *a gentle and proper discourse of reason*.<sup>58</sup> De Frías defines *discreción* as the eminently practical application of a natural gift in human nature – which was, like *ingenio*, one of those powers in the human soul that resulted from God's creation of man in His own image and likeness. As with *discreción*, thus with poetic creativity, which has the potential to manifest itself in any individual, since, as Cervantes declares in his *Persiles & Segismunda* 'las almas todas son iguales', i.e. *all souls are equal*. According to Cervantes, *discreción* is a common, God-given kind of understanding:

It is possible for an artisan to be a poet, because poetry is not in the hands, but in the understanding ... because all souls are equal, and of the same primaeval matter created and shaped by their Maker.<sup>59</sup>

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Thomas East, 1586) (USTC 510534). Harvey owned an annotated copy of de Guazzo's original, S. Stefano Guazzo, *La Civil Conversatione ... Divisa in 111. Libri*. (Venice, Gratiolo Peracacino, 1581) (USTC 835118) and also an edition of George Pettie's 1581 translation of the first three books, *The Civile Conversation of M. Steeven Guazzo* (London, Richard Watkins, 1581) (USTC 509295). See Virginia F. Stern, *Gabriel Harvey. A Study of His Life, Marginalia, and Library* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1979), p. 161, pp. 217–218.

58 'The task of the discreet is no other than, through a gentle and proper discourse of reason, to accommodate the things being dealt with, and dealing with them, according to the decorum of place, time, people, and motivation, as well as according to any other circumstance that may concur'. The original runs thus: 'Es pues officio del discreto no otro que con un gentil y acertado discurso de raçon saber acomodar las cosas de que tracta y tractar dellas conforme al decoro del lugar, del tiempo, de las personas, del porqué, y ansí de las demás circunstancias, si algunas ay otras' (42), Damasio de Frías, quoted in Jesús Gómez 'La 'Conversación discreta' de Dámaso de Frías y los estudios sobre el arte de conversar', *Hispanic Review*, 75/2 (2007), pp. 95–112, p. 104. This of course echoes Jardine's definition of Harvey's linguistic ideal as the art of 'reasonable discoursing'.

59 'Posible cosa es que un oficial sea poeta, porque la poesía no está en las manos, sino en el entendimiento ... porque las almas todas son iguales y de una misma masa en sus principios criadas y formadas por su Hacedor'. Cervantes, *Los Trabajos de Persiles y Sigismunda*, (Madrid, Juan de la Cuesta, 1617) (USTC 5021442), Book I, Chap. XVIII, 43v. For more details on the debate between nature and nurture when it came to poetic gifts in the context of the Spanish Golden age, see Otis H. Green, 'On the Attitude Toward the Vulgo in the Spanish Siglo de Oro', *Studies in the Renaissance*, 4 (1957), pp. 190–200, pp. 195–196. For a recent account of political discourse and moral philosophy in the literature



There is thus an inherent potential in all individuals that can turn a simple tailor into a poet, or a humble artisan into a discerning reader, and therefore become enfranchised to hold one of those discreet conversations described by Damaso de Frías. When these men of understanding, whose capacities go beyond the traditional values of the ancient aristocracy, engage in conversation they create the virtual circles of the Court of Taste. The discreet reader thus shows the capacity to draw the right moral lessons and to appreciate the aesthetic quality of proper literary discourse. This subjective capacity turns into *common sense* when it gains its social dimension, when the men of understanding communicate with each other. This announces a new modality in the articulation of the rapport between particulars and universals, the subjective and the social, through the link of language and rhetoric.<sup>60</sup> What conversation signifies within the context of the city, translation facilitates at the international level. Translation weaves a rich and complex conversation among men of understanding made possible by the currency of language and its exchange value, which is established with the aid of dictionaries and handbooks for language-learning. As mentioned above, these works frequently took the form of literary anthologies, collections of *adagia*, or conversation manuals. The highly controversial translation of Scripture had already unlocked the source of God's grace from the hands of those who would monopolize it, and the translation of all sorts of texts was now making secular knowledge available to the common of humanity for its mutual profit. The spread of knowledge through translation is compared to international trade, and those who criticize the task of translations and translators are like greedy merchants bent on monopolizing the market. The following is a spirited defence of translation by Thomas James that appears in the preface to his English rendering of Brucioli's *Commentary upon the Canticle of Canticles* (1598):

Translators haue their faults and abuses as well as other men, as when they translate the foolish & vnprofitable, or wicked & vngodly books, or els mistranslate & misinterpret books, and then the abuse proceedeth either of malice or of ignorance: if of malice their reproofe is iust; if of ignorance, blame them not, vnles it be affected: for the best that is may misse

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of Miguel de Cervantes, see Antony Cascardi's *Cervantes, Literature, and the Discourse of Politics* (Toronto, Buffalo & London: Toronto University Press, 2012), in particular Chapter 8, 'Civil Society, Virtue and the Pursuit of Happiness', pp. 197–235.

60 See Anthony J. Cascardi, 'Gracián and the Authority of Taste', in *Ideologies of History in the Spanish Golden Age*. (University Park, Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1997), pp. 133–159, in particular pp. 136–138.

in a strange language, when no man knoweth all in his owne tongue. And thus far reacheth their complaint against the abuse of translations, which may in no wise be excused. As for the harme that cometh by making learning too common, men of common judgment may by vulgar examples easily refute them. The sunne & moone, fire and water are profitable, & yet common: the Philosopher saith, *Bonum quò communius, eò melius*: good the commoner it is, the better it is.: if it bee true in philosophie, it is true in diuinity, & therfore S. Paul wisheth that all men were learned as hee was, and that all men could speak with diuers tongues as he did, & c. I would that these men which think they haue S. Paules learning, had S. Paules zeale (so it were according to knowledge) to seeke other mens good and not their own; for now marchants do not monopolize the goods of a cetie more then these do appropriate vnto themselues the learning of whole vniuersities, & when they haue it, what do they with it, but keep it vnto themselves. Because I wold not be of this odious sect of men (most courteous & Christian reader) I haue at vacant times translated according to that measure of knowledge which God hath giuen me, both this book and some others.<sup>61</sup>

This emphasis upon communication of knowledge and information exchange, upon the moral lessons that should be shared and ‘made common’ as ‘communicable goods’ pervades, as I suggested in the opening paragraph of this chapter, paratexts in this period, and it is also frequently used to justify less than exemplary texts which were nevertheless in large demand. In the preface to *Lazarillo de Tormes*, its autobiographical narrator appeals to the discerning, adiphoric reader through the authority of Pliny and Horace in order to justify the narrative he is about to unfold: the life of a rogue who is far from being a model of good behaviour. But even this should be shared, says he, for ‘no thing should be destroyed or left to waste as evil ... but should instead be communicated among all, above all if this is proffered without prejudice and with the potential of extracting some fruit from it’.<sup>62</sup>

61 ‘The Translatour to the courteous and Christian Reader’, in *A Commentary Vpon the Canticle of Canticles, Written first in Italian by Antonio Brucioli, and now translated into English by Th. Iames fellow of New colledge in Oxford*, (London, Printed by R. F[ield] for Tho. Man, 1598) (USTC 513634), [\*8r]–[\*8v].

62 ‘... ninguna cosa se debería romper ni echar a mal ... sino que a todos se comunicase, mayormente siendo sin perjuicio y pudiendo sacar della algún fructo’ *Lazarillo de Tormes*, Francisco Rico (ed.) (Madrid: Real Academia Española, 2011), pp. 3–6.

David Summers has provided a comprehensive account of the inherent natural judgment – which combines both judgment of sense and judgment of reason – that paratexts wished for in their intended readers. More importantly, Summers also spells out its proximity to the consensual norm that contemplates common usage, and common language as the best parameters for a proper style in the articulation of shared, conversational knowledge, (i.e., common sense) founded upon Naturalism, and also as a prelude to the Enlightened theory of taste.<sup>63</sup> Summers' conclusions in particular suggest the aesthetic and political evolution of the concepts of common language and common sense, which would bear fruit in the political prose of Thomas Paine, the critical journalism of Doctor Johnson and Joseph Addison, or the poetics of William Wordsworth.<sup>64</sup> In his *Life of the English Poets* ('Gray', 1779–1781) Samuel Johnson famously proclaimed that 'I rejoyce to concur with the common reader, for by the common sense of readers uncorrupted with literary prejudices, after all the refinements of subtlety and the dogmatism of learning, must be finally decided all claim to poetical honors'.<sup>65</sup> Johnson's opinion epitomizes the culmination of a process that had been long in the making.

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63 Summers, *The Judgment*, pp. 311–334.

64 Summers, *The Judgment*, pp. 333–334.

65 Samuel Johnson, *The Lives of the Poets. A Selection*, ed. R. Lonsdale, selected and with an introduction by J. Mullan (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), p. 461.

## Writing Literature for Publication, 1605–1637

*Esther Villegas de la Torre*

In 1604 the bookseller Francisco de Robles presented an application – a *memorial de petición* addressed to the king before the Consejo Real for the licence and printing of a text by Miguel de Cervantes. A great deal could depend on the outcome of such petitions – not least the ability for publishers to turn a profit, not to mention the potential impact on an author's reputation. It was a process that could last from a few weeks to a number of months. The first lines of the petition read: 'Most powerful Lord. I, Miguel de Cervantes, say that I have written a book, entitled *El ingenioso hidalgo de la Mancha*, which I am presenting you with now'.<sup>1</sup> A year later, *Don Quijote de la Mancha* was published in Madrid by Juan de la Cuesta, under a royal privilege granted on the grounds of personal effort and public utility, 'which had required much work from you and which was very useful and profitable'.<sup>2</sup>

### The Mercantilization of the Literary Product

In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the presentation of a *memorial de petición*, usually by a printer-publisher or bookseller, initiated the process by which texts could be printed lawfully.<sup>3</sup> In the case of Spain, this dialogue had been shaped specifically by a royal decree of 1558, issued by Juana de Austria, queen regent of Spain on behalf of her brother Philip II:

- 1 Fernando Bouza, "Dásele licencia y privilegio" *Don Quijote y la aprobación de libros en el Siglo de Oro* (Madrid: Akal, 2012), p. 30.
- 2 Miguel de Cervantes, *Don Quijote de la Mancha*, Francisco Rico (ed.), (Madrid: Punto de Lectura, 2010), p. 4; my translation.
- 3 I see this as part of Robert Darnton's 'communication circuit', a general model for examining how books come into being and spread through society. Darnton's cycle moves from the act of writing to the commissioning of texts, the printing house and its members, the business of dissemination, and the reader and book-user. See Robert Darnton, 'What is the History of Books?' in D. Finkelstein and A. McCleery (eds.), *The Book History Reader*, 2nd edn (London: Routledge, 2006), pp. 9–26. More recently, Darnton has re-examined the andro-centrism of his earlier model, underlining the possibility that both genders might take on such roles. See Robert Darnton, "What is the History of Books", Revisited', *Modern Intellectual History*, 4 (2007), pp. 496 and 502.

Those interested in securing a licence had to produce the originals (manuscripts or printed texts), whose textual materiality would be controlled [...] by a court scribe. In the case that the licence was granted, it was prescribed that, once printed, the text had to be checked for discrepancies with the original by a court proof-reader. Similarly, the decree established that the licence, privilege and, where applicable, the cost had to be included in the front matter of the printed text.<sup>4</sup>

The growing mercantilization of literature across Europe that followed the advent of print sharpened questions of authorial representation and marketability, most notably during the first decades of the seventeenth century. Authors in the 1600s still depended on the support of patrons. However, in the period to 1640, the monopoly enjoyed by court and aristocratic patrons over literary production began to give way to the active intervention of *libreros*, who commissioned, printed and sold books from their shops and workshops.<sup>5</sup> The commercial nature of the literary product could also be seen in the way texts dealt increasingly with questions of literary self-consciousness, which might be defined as denoting the various ways in which a text could foreground its author's creative investment in it – either by highlighting its process of elaboration, its author's identity, or its own linguistic value. That is, the emergence of authorial self-consciousness may be traced to as early as 1400 within the Hispanic context, but it was not until the turn of the seventeenth century that discourses of professionalization and fame became an unmistakable reality.<sup>6</sup> While many, usually short, literary works continued to be published anonymously or under a pseudonym, where the author's reputation could encourage sales, his or her identity was emphasised strongly.

Clearly, authority and its implications for the production and reception of literature is fundamentally related to the question of literary self-consciousness,

4 Bouza, “*Dásele licencia y privilegio*”, pp. 29–30; my translation.

5 Pedro Coello and Alonso Pérez are prime examples of the greater role played by booksellers in this period. On the greater role of the bookseller as publisher in the seventeenth century, see Anne Cayuela, *Le Paratexte au Siècle d'Or: Prose Romanesque, Livres et Lecteurs en Espagne au XVII<sup>e</sup> Siècle* (Geneva: Droz, 1996) and Alonso Pérez de Montalbán: *un librero en el Madrid de los Austrias* (Madrid: Calambur, 2005).

6 On the rise of literary self-consciousness, see Adrian Armstrong, *Technique and Technology: Script, Print and Poetics in France, 1470–1550* (Oxford: Clarendon, 2000), p. 7, and Jonathan Weiss, *The Poet's Art: Literary Theory in Castile c. 1400–60* (Oxford: Oxbow, 1990). For a comparative, transnational perspective on the rise of discourses of professionalization and fame, see Adrian Marino, *The Biography of “the Idea of Literature” from Antiquity to the Baroque*, trans. by V. Stanciu and C.M. Carlton (New York: State University of New York Press, 1996).

and this manifests most evidently in a work's paratext – the interface where the personal and public facets of a text, intention and reception, converge.<sup>7</sup> None of this escaped the mind of the contemporary writer, or that of book producers. In the seventeenth century, printed texts increasingly included plates, authorial and laudatory stanzas, and much bolder authorial and editorial postures. In his prologue to the first part of *Don Quijote*, Cervantes calls attention to the rising array of such paratexts, suggesting that they played a visibly commercial role and one which could be laughed at, publicly: 'I just wish I could give it to you peeled and naked, unadorned by the prologue, or the endless catalogue of the usual sonnets, epigrams and laudatory poems that are so often placed at the beginning of books'.<sup>8</sup> Nonetheless, even if symbolic, the relation of reciprocity, of mutual interest, which paratexts established was not at all redundant or perceived as such by contemporary writers. Lope de Vega remarked that a dedication serves 'either to celebrate the virtues of the dedicatee and cause (by virtue of the writing) a degree of immortality to his or her name, or so that, under their protection, the writers reach immortality, otherwise indicating their mutual interest'.<sup>9</sup>

That is to say, in the seventeenth century, writers could discuss the pragmatic function of such paratexts openly with little fear of damaging the work's reception. It is true that Cervantes calls into question their benefit for the writer. In the prologue to the first part of his *Novelas ejemplares* (Madrid, 1613) (USTC 5038681) he ridicules the widespread authorial practice of including a dedication. However, he does so on the grounds of protection only, 'the second [error] is saying that they place them under their protection so that those who speak ill of others do not dare bite them and hurt them'.<sup>10</sup> Furthermore, in the second part of *Don Quijote*, printed two years later, Cervantes claims to have rejected financial help from a Chinese ambassador on the grounds of health, but is also satisfied by the promotion of his dedicatee, the Conde de Lemos, 'in Naples I have the great count of Lemos, who, without so much education, or so many titles and rectories, supports me, protects me, and helps me much more

7 See Gérard Genette, *Paratexts: Thresholds of Interpretation*, trans. by J.E. Lewin (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997).

8 Miguel de Cervantes, *Don Quijote*, pp. 7–8; my translation.

9 This is from Lope's dedication to Jorge de Tobar Valderrama for his *comedia Quien ama no haga fieros*, included in *Decimaoctava parte de las Comedias de Lope de Vega Carpio* (Madrid, por Iuan González, a costa de Alonso Perez, 1623) (USTC 5019114), ff. 236v–256. I am citing from T.E. Case, *Las dedicatorias de partes XIII–XX de Lope de Vega*, *Estudios de Hispanófila*, 32 (Madrid: Castalia, 1975), p. 21, my italics and translation.

10 Miguel de Cervantes, *Novelas ejemplares*, I.H. Sieber (ed.), (Madrid: Cátedra, 2003), p. 54.

than I am able to say'.<sup>11</sup> A dedication to a noble in the early period therefore had an ostensibly double function; it bestowed on the text a quality stamp, as well as social prestige on the addressee.<sup>12</sup> In short, the professionalization of the author had arrived, the first major step towards the modern concept of the author as autonomous artist and towards the consequent transformation of the public sphere.<sup>13</sup>

### Gendered Perspectives and Print

All such changes in the literary field applied to texts published by men and by women. The dawn of the sixteenth century saw many book producers as well as female writers from across Europe emphasising female-authored texts being 'the products of women'.<sup>14</sup> Print publication made no distinction in granting licences and privileges where the author was a woman.<sup>15</sup> Adopting a female authorial perspective made women's works somewhat different from men's and this difference gave them originality and uniqueness, an essential part of the *captatio benevolentiae* that was recommended by both Quintilian and Cicero – 'but we shall make our hearers attentive, if we show that the things which we are going to say and to speak of are important, and unusual, and incredible; and that they concern all men [...] or the general interests of the republic'.<sup>16</sup>

11 Cervantes, *Don Quijote*, p. 547; my translation.

12 On the benefits of acting as a patron in the literary field, see Anne Cayuela, 'Adversa cedunt principi magnanimo: paratexto y poder en el siglo XVII', in M.S. Arredondo, P. Civil, and M. Moner (ed.), *Paratextos en la literatura española (siglos XV–XVIII)* (Madrid: Casa de Velázquez, 2009), pp. 379–392.

13 See Alain Viala, *Naissance de l'écrivain: Sociologie de la littérature à l'âge classique* (Paris: Editions de Minuit, 1985), and Jürgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*, trans. by Thomas Burger and Frederick Lawrence (Cambridge: Polity, 1992).

14 On this editorial practice, see Susan Broomhall, *Women and the Book Trade in Sixteenth-Century France* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002), and M.J.M. Ezell, 'By a Lady: The Mask of the Feminine in Restoration, Early Eighteenth-Century Print Culture', in J.R. Griffin (ed.), *The Faces of Anonymity: Anonymous and Pseudonymous Publication from the Sixteenth to the Twentieth Century*, (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), pp. 63–79.

15 On this respect, see José Simón Díaz, *El libro español antiguo: análisis de su estructura* (Madrid: Ollero & Ramos, 2000: repr; first published Kassel: Reichenberger, 1983).

16 M.T. Cicero. *De inventione*, trans. by C.D. Yonge (Montana: Kessinger, 2004), I, p. 23. The original Latin reads: "Attentos autem faciemus, si demonstrabimus ea, quae dicturi erimus, magna, nova, incredibilia esse, aut ad omnes aut ad eos, qui audient [...] aut ad summam rem publicam pertinere", M.T. Cicero. *De inventione*, E. Piccolo (ed.), (Napoli:

The case of Christine de Pizan bears great significance for understanding this increasingly frequent phenomenon. Pizan herself exploited the question of gender difference in her authorial self-representation, managing to reach professional status in the fourteenth century.<sup>17</sup> But so did her publishers and editors, within and outside France. One of her works, *Livre des Trois Vertus*, the sequel to *La Cité des Dames* (1405), was translated into Portuguese on two occasions, circulating both in manuscript and print across the Iberian Peninsula.<sup>18</sup> Interestingly, the Portuguese printed version, issued in Lisbon in 1518 by Germão de Campos who printed *O Cancioneiro Geral* (1516), bore the title *O Espelho de Cristina*, despite the fact that the title of the fifteenth-century manuscript translation was *O Livro das Tres Vertudes a Insinança das Damas* and that the two French editions circulating at that time (1497 and 1503) bore the title *Le Trésor de la Cité des Dames*. Amongst Hélienne de Crenne's works, published between 1538 and 1542 and reprinted nine times before 1560 – in individual editions and in a collective work, *Les Oeuvres* (1543) – was the defence of women's speech in the *Epistres* and the more didactic guide to women, *Le Songe*.<sup>19</sup> Such cases of female literary success beg us to reconsider the implications of difference, including here the author's gender difference, in the literary field. As Pierre Bourdieu states:

To 'make one's name' [*faire date*] means making one's *mark*, achieving recognition (in both senses) of one's *difference* from other producers [...]. Words – the names of schools or groups, proper names – are so important only because they make things [...] in a world in which the only way to *be* is to be *different*, to 'make one's name', either personally or as a group.<sup>20</sup>

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Loffredo, 2009), 1, p. 16. See also Quintilian, *The 'Institutio Oratoria', with an English Translation*, H.E. Butler (ed. & trans.), Loeb Classical Library, 4 vols (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1920).

17 Maureen Quilligan, *The Allegory of Female Authority: Christine de Pizan's "Cité des Dames"* (Ithaca, London: Cornell University Press, 1991), p. 15.

18 For a detailed discussion on Pizan in Portugal, see Christine de Pizan, *O Livro das Tres Vertudes á Insinança das Damas*, M. de Lurdes Crispim (ed.), (Lisboa: Caminho, 2002).

19 Broomhall, *Women and the Book Trade*, p. 123. See also Leah L. Chang, *Into Print: The Production of Female Authorship in Early Modern France* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2009).

20 Pierre Bourdieu, *The Field of Cultural Production: Essays on Art and Literature*, R. Johnson (ed.), (Cambridge: Polity, 1993), p. 106. Drawing, too, on Bourdieu's sociology of culture, Toril Moi stresses the dangers of ascribing to sex alone the effects of a much more complex and interconnected web of factors in a woman's public successes (e.g. sex, class, race, and age): "In some contexts, 'femaleness' may even be converted from a liability to an



Arguably, therefore, the continuity and greater recurrence of female gendered perspectives in public texts after the 1558 royal decree and 1559 book index, which prohibited anonymity, points to the rising authority of communities of female readers. The increase thereafter in the number of named women authors suggests the positive implications of gender difference.<sup>21</sup> With the arrival of literary bibliographies, the social position of the writer, male and female, was further authorized. Andreas Schottus's four-volume *Hispaniae Bibliotheca*, printed in Frankfurt between 1603 and 1608, acknowledged, supported and promoted writers in Latin and Spanish, male and female, including Oliva Sabuco de Nantes, Luisa Sigea, and Santa Teresa.<sup>22</sup>

### Popular Literature and Print

It is this social climate that explains the rise of discourses of professionalization and fame in literary production by the seventeenth century, irrespective of the author's gender. In the prologue to his *Novelas ejemplares*, Cervantes remarks, 'I am the first to have written a novel in Spanish'.<sup>23</sup> In a very similar fashion to Cervantes, the playwright Feliciano Enríquez de Guzmán also proclaimed herself as a pioneer in the literary field, claiming to be the first

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advantage". See Toril Moi, *What is A Woman? And Other Essays* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), p. 293.

- 21 "Everything to be printed must bear the real date and time of publication so that production can be ascertained. It must also bear the names of the author and printer, and nobody identified as such, whether booksellers, amanuenses or any other person, must dare to print, sell, or disseminate without the aforementioned information". This is from the 1558 royal decree, as cited in Díaz, *El libro español antiguo*, p. 27; my translation. Such regulations have been considered when discussing the anonymity of earlier works such as *Celestina* and *Lazarillo*. See Eugenio Asensio, 'Fray Luis de Maluenda, apologista de la Inquisición, condenado en el Índice Inquisitorial', in *Arquivos do Centro Cultural Português*, 9: 1975, 87–100; and *Lazarillo de Tormes*, Francisco Rico (ed.), (Madrid: Cátedra, 1998), pp. 31–44. For a recent study on anonymity in print, see *Anonymity in Early Modern England: 'What's In a Name?'* Janet Wright Starnes and Barbara Howard Traister (eds), (Framham: Ashgate, 2011).
- 22 Andreas Schottus, *Hispaniae illustratae: seu, Rerum vrbiumque Hispaniae, Lusitaniae, Aethiopiae et Indiae scriptores varii, partim editi nunc primum, partim aucti atque emendati, IIII* (Francofurti: Claudius Marnius & haeredes Iohannis Aubrii, 1608), pp. 336 and 340–344.
- 23 Cervantes, *Novelas ejemplares*, I, p. 52; my translation.

playwright in Spain to conform to Aristotelian precepts. Her only surviving play, *Tragicomedia los jardines y campos sabeos*, was printed in Coimbra in 1624 by Jacomo Carvallo (USTC 5015142), and then again with authorial revisions, in Lisbon in 1627 by Gerardo de la Viña (USTC 5039679). It is in the prologue to the reader, included for the first time in the play's second edition that we find the parallel with Cervantes – 'our female poet thinks that she is the first in Spain to preserve the art and precepts of the ancient comedy when imitating the ancient comedy writers, and that she is the only one to have won the laurel wreath'.<sup>24</sup> Cervantes's self-proclamation as the first to *novelar* in Spanish has been seen as a *manifiesto literario*, reflecting the ways in which writing went on to be linked to developments in the editorial market during the seventeenth century.<sup>25</sup> That is, Cervantes's literary self-consciousness has been linked to the question of literary authority, or capital. Arguably, the same can be said of Feliciana Enríquez de Guzmán, even if her play's editorial success fell substantially short in relation to *Don Quijote*'s. It should be noted that Feliciana Enríquez de Guzmán stresses that she publishes – literally, she makes her authorship public – with full knowledge of being part of a cultural group of lettered women, which includes many of the lettered women in Andreas Schottus's literary bibliography:

Because if she was female, so were our dearest sisters the nine Muses [...]. Notable were also, in letters, the most respected marquise of Cenete, the celebrated Isabelle Joya of Barcelona, the most erudite, Sigea Toledan, to whom, with incredible admiration for her Latin and Hebrew letters, the most serene Queen of Portugal received in her house and had as teacher for her class of illustrious women; Lady Ángela Zapata, Lady Ana Osorio from Burgos, and Lady Catalina de Paz, glory and honour of Guadalajara, and endless other Spanish ladies, who have always honoured Spanish lands, standing out in them throughout the periods.<sup>26</sup>

New forms of literary self-consciousness by seventeenth-century writers extended to the discussion of cost, the financial aspect of writing. Via the translator of *Le bagatelle*, Cervantes observed, 'I do not print my books in order to become famous in the world, for I am already widely known for my works;

24 Feliciana Enríquez de Guzmán, *The Dramatic Works of Feliciana Enríquez de Guzmán*, L.C. Pérez (ed.), (Valencia: Albatros, 1988), p. 43, my translation and italics.

25 Anne Cayuela, 'De reescritores y reescrituras: teoría y práctica de la reescritura en los paratextos del Siglo de Oro', *Criticón*, 79 (2000), p. 42.

26 Enríquez de Guzmán, *The Dramatic Works*, p. 259; my translation.

I crave profit because, without it, good fame is worth nothing'.<sup>27</sup> Again, it is easy to link Cervantes's acute literary self-consciousness with his growing authority within the republic of letters because of *Don Quijote*'s traceable degree of editorial success. However, it may also be argued that authorial comments such as this would have been made only when there was little fear of discouraging sales. Public texts, irrespective of the author's gender, are after all cultural artifacts; they are the product of multiple personal motives, intentions, but also conventions.<sup>28</sup> In a newsbook entitled *Contexto de las reales fiestas del Retiro*, printed in quarto format (with 43 pages of printed text) in Madrid in 1637 by the 'Imprenta del Reyno' (USTC 5028002), the author, Ana Caro de Mallén, wittily uses her identity to bring up the financial aspect of writing in the prologue to the reader:

Caro reader: if this Contexto is so [*caro* = expensive] to you, more so for the anger it can cause than for its cost, forgive this sin of my ignorance, appreciating that what in it is badly reasoned is that it was written without the intent of publication [...]. I beg you to censure it as if it were yours and to buy it as if it were by another person because, with that alone, if you are not happy [*contento* = happy, fulfilled], I will still be paid [*pagada* = paid, fulfilled].<sup>29</sup>

Here is, therefore, a contemporary self-conscious female perspective supporting the claim that during the seventeenth century 'the writer turns, in effect, into a professional and [...] is aware of it'.<sup>30</sup> Another text worth recalling here

27 Cervantes, *Don Quijote*, p. 1033; my translation.

28 Marino, *The Biography of "the Idea of Literature"*, p. 135. I refer to texts as artifacts, as used by McGann. See Jerome McGann, 'The Socialization of texts', in D. Finkelstein and A. McCleery (eds.), *The Book History Reader*, 2nd edn (London: Routledge, 2006), pp. 66–73.

29 Ana Caro de Mallén, *Contexto de las reales fiestas que se hizieron en el Palacio del Bven Retiro a la coronación de Rey de Romanos, y entrada en Madrid de la señora Princesa de Cariñan. En tres discursos* (Madrid: Imprenta del Reyno, 1637) (USTC 5028002), fol. 3r; my translation. For a detailed discussion of the work's paratext, see Esther Villegas de la Torre, 'Transatlantic Interactions: Seventeenth-Century Women Authors and Literary Self-Consciousness', in *Identity, Nation, and Discourse: Latin American Women Writers and Artists*, ed. by Claire Taylor (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2009), pp. 104–121. On the theme of cost in prologues of the time, see Antonio Porqueras Mayo, *El prólogo como género literario: su estudio en el Siglo de Oro español* (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1958), pp. 143–144.

30 Marino, *The Biography of "the Idea of Literature"*, pp. 185–187.

is *Novelas amorosas y ejemplares*, whose author María de Zayas, published in print in Zaragoza in 1637 (USTC 5022533) – the same year as Ana Caro published *Contexto de las reales fiestas del Retiro* in Madrid. The original manuscript (which may have contained only eight short stories) might have been presented first in Madrid, since one of the two *licencias* is dated Madrid, 4 June 1626; the other is dated Zaragoza, 6 May 1636. The eleven years that took for it to appear in print and in a different city may suggest that Zayas only managed to secure the ecclesiastical licence in Madrid; she also needed the legal licence, or ‘Licencia del Ordinario’. The ban on publication in Castile between the years 1625 and 1634 may explain the delay, since it concerned works of fiction and plays.<sup>31</sup> At any rate, of all the approved works of prose fiction published during the ban only one bore the word *novela* in the title, and this concerned the last year of the suspension.<sup>32</sup>

Much has been written about the real (non-rhetorical) foundation of Zayas’s pro-feminist stance, not least without or barely touching on the work’s physical properties and the fact that women were the intended readers in the business of prose fiction.<sup>33</sup> Conversely, a comparative approach, in terms of language and gender, attentive to her text as a whole, reveals Zayas as a self-consciously career-driven author. The work’s paratexts include the customary legal texts, several complimentary stanzas, and two prologues. Amongst those who contributed laudatory pieces are the professional writers, Ana Caro de Mallén, Alonso del Castillo Solórzano, and Juan Pérez de Montalbán.<sup>34</sup> As was customary, the work’s paratexts included a laudatory composition in Portuguese, in order to appeal to the widest readership possible.<sup>35</sup> The expression of the modern idea that only print endows writing (and implicitly, the writer)

31 Jaime Moll, ‘La primera edición de las “Novelas amorosas y ejemplares” de María de Zayas y Sotomayor’, *DICENDA: Cuadernos de Filología Hispánica*, 1 (1982), pp. 177–179.

32 See Cayuela, *Le Paratexte au Siècle d’Or*, p. 43.

33 On the role of women in prose fiction, see Cayuela, *Le Paratexte au Siècle d’Or*, p. 101.

34 The other laudatory pieces are by Isabel Tintor, Francisco de Aguirre Vaca, Alonso Bernardino de Quirós, Diego Pereira, Ana Inés Victoria de Mires y Arguillur, and Victorián Josef de Esmir y Casanate.

35 “From Diego Pereira, in Portuguese / Sonnet / During the time in which rosey spring / shows herself happier and more delighted, / like a pink laurel wreath, / I saw fame descending from the high sphere. / Longing to know the cause, / I asked her: where are you going so full of care? / – Off to crown Minerva, new goddess, / close to Manzanares I go, where she awaits me. / – What work does she offer, I say, to your altar? / – *Novellas* of love – she responds, / suspended, she adds, and some fantasies. / If Manzanares waters Madrid, / if the one who enjoys such favours is a woman, / who can it be if not lady María?”. See María de Zayas y Sotomayor, *Obra narrativa completa: Novelas amorosas y ejemplares* /

with authority can also be found in Zayas's prologue to the reader, 'because not until writing touches lead letters does this have real value'.<sup>36</sup> Furthermore, in the publisher's prologue, 'Prologo de vn desapassionado', Zayas's status as an author is promoted through the claim to women's participation and acclaim in literary academies, as well as the invested morality within the *novela* tradition:

Lady María de Zayas, glory of Manzanares and honour of our Spain – whom the learned academies of Madrid have so much applauded and celebrated – by virtue of her quill, gives to the press these ten births of her fertile brain under the name of Novelas. The morality which they contain, the artifice which they have, and the grace with which they are written, all are traces of her lively wit.<sup>37</sup>

Public participation and moral value are therefore used as strong arguments by a publisher for recommending a female-authored text, whose material and discursive properties overtly position it within the *novela* tradition, one of the three more commercially-driven textual forms of the time.<sup>38</sup> Furthermore, Zayas's text is here promoted on the very grounds she famously complains about in the prologue to the reader, which are gender, class, and erudition, 'for being a lady, for being witty, for being learned, you must – oh, reader – look at her sharp thoughts with respect, unaffected by the envy with which you censure other writings that do not carry this licence, owed to the ladies'.<sup>39</sup> As previously noted, the appeal to favour the reception of a woman's work for being 'by a lady' was a recurrent authorial and editorial strategy during the sixteenth century.<sup>40</sup> On this occasion, such an appeal is made by the bookseller himself, and one whose coat of arms is displayed on the title page, the place customarily occupied by the dedicatee's identity.<sup>41</sup> Last but not least, the publisher also

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*Desengaños amorosos*, Estrella Ruiz-Gálvez Priego (ed.), (Madrid: Fundación José Antonio de Castro, 2001), p. 14; my translation.

36 Zayas y Sotomayor, *Obra narrativa completa*, p. 17; my translation.

37 Zayas y Sotomayor, *Obra narrativa completa*, p. 21; my translation.

38 The other two were theatre and news. See Don W. Cruickshank, "Literature" and the Book Trade in Golden-Age Spain', *Modern Language Review*, 73 (1978), pp. 799–824, Henry Ettinghausen, (ed.). *Noticias del siglo XVII: relaciones españolas de sucesos naturales y sobrenaturales* (Barcelona: Puvill, 1995), and Andrew Pettegree, *The Invention of News: How the World Came to Know About Itself* (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 2014).

39 Zayas y Sotomayor, *Obra narrativa completa*, p. 22; my translation.

40 Ezell, 'By a Lady', p. 79.

41 On the identity of the publisher, Pedro Esquer, see Moll, 'La primera edición de las "Novelas amorosas y exemplares"', p. 177.

brings up the question of cost, 'and you must not only do this, but wish, on account of its female author, for your study room to not be without her book, not by borrowing it but by costing you money, for, although it might be much, you will think of it as having been money well spent'.<sup>42</sup> In fact, the reference to the work's justified cost poses a close parallel with the also unsigned prologue of Quevedo's *El Buscón* (1626):

You know who the author is and what the cost is, for you have it in your house, unless you are passing through the pages at the bookseller's, which is a pain to him and which should be stopped with great rigour because there are book scroungers [...] and such is a real shame because this type of reader gossips without spending any of his or her money.<sup>43</sup>

### Didactic Literature and Print

In the seventeenth century, ambitious authors could also make their name by portraying themselves as teachers and scholars, rather than as professional authors.<sup>44</sup> To be sure, the preconception that it was 'shameful to make verse for money' was still strong and widespread across Europe.<sup>45</sup> Just a year before Cervantes published his masterpiece, a biography in verse of St Catherine of Siena by a widow, Doña Isabel de Liaño, appeared, explicitly addressing women readers. The text was published in Valladolid in print under a royal privilege, dated Pardo, 22 April 1602, by Luis de Salazar. The author's status as a widow is disclosed in the *licencia*, dated Valladolid, 15 March 1604, by Cristóbal Núñez de León, 'escrivano de Camara de su Magestad'. The printer was Luis Sánchez, who then held the title of 'impresor del Rey', and who had printing operations in both Madrid and Valladolid.<sup>46</sup> In brief, Liaño's case offers yet another example of the ways in which writing went on to be linked to developments in the editorial market during the seventeenth century.

42 Zayas y Sotomayor, *Obra narrativa completa*, p. 22; my translation.

43 Francisco de Quevedo y Villegas, 'Al Lector', *La vida del buscón llamado don Pablos*, D. Ynduráin (ed.), (Madrid: Cátedra, 2001), p. 92; my translation. The attribution of this piece to Quevedo's publisher, Roberto Duport, is made on the same grounds: "because of the ostensible preoccupation with the selling – rather than reading – of the book in the last section of the prologue". See Quevedo, *La vida del buscón*, p. 83; my translation.

44 Christoph Strosetzki, *La literatura como profesión: en torno a la autoconcepción de la existencia erudita literaria en el Siglo de Oro español* (Kassel: Reichenberger, 1997), p. 204.

45 Marino, *The Biography of "the Idea of Literature"*, p. 187.

46 Antonio Rojo Vega, *Impresores, libreros y papeleros en Medina del Campo y Valladolid en el siglo XVII* (Salamanca: Junta de Castilla y León, 1994), p. 195.

Isabel de Liaño begins her prologue to the reader by commenting that her authorship had been disputed and attributed only on financial grounds. That is, in her dialogue with the potential reader / book-user, the female author bestows on her gender difference a double pragmatic function; it serves as a concession – for the *captatio benevolentiae* – and as a promotional point – for confirming the text's financial worth:

I gave my work to the press, casting shadow on my justice through the incredulity of our detractors, who said that I stole this poetry and that whoever wrote it attributed to me so that he could encourage sales, since having such a discredited named authorship would cause everybody to want to see it, out of curiosity and for seemingly being an impossible thing.<sup>47</sup>

Such is indeed the reading, if we consider her first-person authorial statements in the context in which they appear – in relation to the material and discursive properties of the text.<sup>48</sup> After the title page came the usual legal and literary texts, where it was made clear that the text's royal privilege was conceded on the grounds of the author's personal effort and public utility, as was the case for Cervantes's *Don Quijote*: 'which was very useful and profitable for the pious, in which you had put in a great deal of work'. The work's paratexts also include two plates, reaffirming Liaño's literary self-consciousness, as well as the text's ideological function, in the manner of the publication of Santa Teresa's collected works in print: one is of the author dressed in religious attire; the other resembles Michelangelo's *La Pietà* (1499). This is all the more interesting, if we consider that authors themselves ordered the illustrations.<sup>49</sup> Lope de Vega stands as a prime example in this regard, not least because many of the illustrations he ordered elicited authority via his religious status.<sup>50</sup>

47 Isabel de Liaño, *Historia de la vida, mverte, y milagros de Santa Catarina de Sena, diuidida en tres libros* (Valladolid: Luys Sanchez, 1604) (USTC 5026453); my translation.

48 Ernst R. Curtius, *European Literature and Latin Middle Ages*, W.R. Trask (trans.), (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990), pp. 83 and 85.

49 Víctor Mínguez, 'Imágenes para leer: función del grabado en el libro del Siglo de Oro', in A. Gómez Castillo (ed.), *Escribir y leer en el siglo de Cervantes*, (Barcelona: Gedisa, 1999), p. 267. In Santa Teresa's collected works, the plate of the author underlines her status as founder of the Order of the 'descalços Carmelitas'. See Santa Teresa de Jesús, *Los libros de la madre Teresa de Iesvs fundadora de los monasterios de monjas y frayles Carmelitas Descalços de la primera regla* (Salamanca: Guillermo Foquel, 1588) (USTC 342029).

50 For a detailed study of Lope's self-promotional strategies, see Alejandro García Reidy, 'Lope de Vega frente a su escritura: el nacimiento de una conciencia profesional', (doctoral thesis, València: Universitat de València, 2009). See also Cayuela, 'Adversa cedunt principi magnanimo', pp. 379–392.

The authority elicited by Liaño's text is also evoked through the eight laudatory poems (by various *juristas*), in Spanish and in Portuguese, included in the work's paratext, thus confirming Liaño and her book producers' intention to appeal to the widest readership possible. It is noteworthy that none of the preliminary pieces, not even the laudatory poems, discussed the author's allegation that her authorship had been disputed. Instead, all praise Liaño's literary skill and text's public utility; some compare her to Minerva and call her the 'Décima Musa', a worthy title (it had, after all, been accorded by Plato to the Greek woman poet Sappho), which would also later be accorded to many other women authors.

The degree to which Isabel de Liaño aimed to stand out within the literary field may be seen in that she repeatedly gives her female gender crucial thematic and marketing relevance. In the prologue to the reader, she describes her literary skills as being noticeably 'female', while at the same time boasting that she could make use of male *auctoritas* if she so wished. This apparent concern of hers, that she might be criticised for her choice of literary materials, is also what ultimately informed her appeal for patronage – 'if heavens had not given RH such a devoted heart, accompanied by such legal authority and grandiosity, this book would have been made an orphan of such high favour for lacking the variety of fabulous fictions which are usually chosen to adorn the stories, most likened by the common taste'.<sup>51</sup> Reina Margarita de Austria (1598–1611), the chosen dedicatee, was an important literary patron, and the dedicatee of the collected works of Santa Teresa, taken to the press – supported and promoted, that is – by Fray Luis de León.<sup>52</sup> All in all, the exaggerated pro-feminist stance of Liaño's text, her and the book producers' decision to market it on gender grounds, makes perfect sense commercially and thematically.<sup>53</sup>

### Anonymity in Print

Seventeenth-century texts manifested literary self-consciousness in various ways, and this was no different within the didactic tradition, especially among noble and religious writers. Despite their well-established stature as authors, Quevedo, Gracián and Fray Gabriel Téllez published both religious and profane

51 Liaño, *Historia de la vida*, fol. 3<sup>v</sup>; my translation.

52 A copy of Pizan's *Le Livre des Trois Vertus* in its Portuguese translation is listed in the book inventory of the Catholic Queen, but it may have actually belonged to Reina Margarita de Austria. See Elisa Ruiz García, *Los libros de Isabel la Católica: arqueología de un patrimonio escrito* (Madrid: Instituto de Historia del Libro y de la Lectura, 2004), p. 27.

53 Genette, *Paratexts*, p. 40.



works under their own names and also under pseudonyms, and most especially, when they first entered the literary field. Diego de Saavedra Fajardo validates this claim in his dedication of *La república literaria* to the Count-Duke of Olivares. Interestingly, Saavedra Fajardo's statements on his anonymity were published under a pseudonym, Claudio Antonio de Cabrera, in the work's first edition, entitled *Juicio de artes y ciencias* (Madrid, 1655):<sup>54</sup>

This was, my lord, the first birth of my wit, crime of my youth, as can be seen in its freedom and movement. I let it travel around Spain anonymously so as to prove himself and me [...] without allowing it to go through the press until another work of greater judgement and public utility deserved it, as I believe *Empresas Políticas* is.

Such examples show that we should expect that women's practice and status as authors, just like men's, by no means conformed to a single or simple pattern – Bernarda Ferreira de Lacerda and Ana de Castro Egas both signed their published works in their real names, going on to achieve important renown as didactic writers.<sup>55</sup> Accordingly, an anonymous work in octavo format, entitled *Nobleza virtuosa*, appeared in print under a royal privilege in 1637 in Zaragoza (USTC 5006146) – in the same year that María de Zayas and Ana Caro published the works previously discussed.<sup>56</sup> The paratexts of *Nobleza virtuosa* start with a noteworthy architectural frontispiece – an expensive choice of title-page design, displaying in the centre of its architrave the coat of arms of the text's dedicatee, Gaspar, the eldest son and heir of the Duque de Osuna.<sup>57</sup> More striking is

54 Its title page displayed the publisher's name, D. Melchor de Fonseca y Almeida. A second edition was published in 1670 in Madrid by María Fernández; here the author's name was changed to Diego de Saavedra Fajardo, and the publisher was D. Joseph de Salinas. See Diego de Saavedra Fajardo, *República Literaria*, J.C. de Torres (ed.), (Madrid: Libertarias, 1999), p. 61; my translation. On the count-duke of Olivares, see John H. Elliott, *El conde-duque de Olivares: el político en una época de decadencia* (Barcelona: Crítica, 2009).

55 See Bernarda Ferreira de Lacerda, *Hespaña libertada: parte primera* (Lisboa: Pedro Crasbeeck, 1618) (USTC 5013245) and *Hespaña libertada. Poema posthumo: parte segunda* (Lisboa: Ivan de la Costa, 1673), as well as Ana de Castro Egas, *Eternidad del Rey Don Filipe Tercero Nvestro Señor, el Piadoso: Discvrso de sv vida y santas costumbres* (Madrid: Viuda de Alonso Martin, 1629) (USTC 5022158).

56 *Nobleza virtuosa* (Zaragoza: por Juan de Lanaja y Quartanet, 1637) (USTC 5006146).

57 On the title-page design, see Ana Martínez Pereira, 'La ilustración impresa', in V. Infantes, F. Lopez, and J.F. Botrel (ed.), *Historia de la edición y de la lectura en España, 1472–1914*, (Madrid: Fundación Germán Sánchez Ruipérez, 2003), p. 59. The name "Alonso" was in fact an error and should have been Gaspar (1625–1694), only son of Juan Téllez Girón Enríquez de Ribera. The mistake was corrected in the book's sequel. See *Noble perfecto y*

the prominence given to the name of the publisher, Fray Pedro Enrique Pastor, Provincial of the Augustinian Order in Aragon. And yet, in the *aprobaciones* it is made abundantly clear that the author is not him, but a noble. The two dedications that follow begin to lift the veil that the title-page had cast over the mysterious author. In the first, signed by Pastor and addressed to the book's dedicatee, it is claimed that the text – a copy ready for publication and explicitly attributed to a woman *autora* – was found by chance. Pastor goes on to promise would-be readers (book-buyers) a text offering both pleasure and delight, a topos of public utility which he links to that of praise of the unknown writer's wit – 'I looked at it carefully and read it with pleasure, equally admiring its useful doctrine and sovereign wit'.<sup>58</sup> This allows him to reveal at last the further detail that the *autora* is of noble lineage, 'suffice to say that it is by a great lady [...] to get princes to accept it, nobles to esteem it, children to read it, parents to teach it'.<sup>59</sup> The second dedication is by the author herself. Its rubric repeats the fact that she is a noble lady, and justifies the hiding of her name as a matter of decorum – 'dedication by a great lady of these kingdoms of Spain, on the advice left for her eldest son and daughter, in which, out of due respect, her name was hidden'. Despite its intimate tone and personal comments about the author's poor health, the dedication may be seen as rhetorical rather than real, not least because the children remain unnamed and happen conveniently to be of each sex, the male being the first-born:

Since our God is not being served by giving me the time to communicate them through your education, for I have been in bed so many months now due to an illness which right from the start threatened me with death and your orphanage in such tender years, I exhort you with these documents (that I have only just managed to gather together), judging them to be the most esteemed inheritance that I could leave you as tokens of the dear love that I profess you.<sup>60</sup>

The perspective of a mother teaching her children seems to have been used for conferring credibility on her authorial persona, as a noble woman writing on the education of noble children who herself was a mother. This aspect

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*segvnda parte de la Nobleza virtuosa* (En Zaragoza: por Iuan de Lanaja y Quartanet, 1639) (USTC 5008258).

58 *Nobleza virtuosa*, fol. 7v; my translation.

59 *Nobleza virtuosa*, fol. 8r–v; my translation.

60 It is paginated as part of the body of the text (pp. 1–6), to which it serves as an introduction; my translation.

should not be downplayed, since women could be seen as having particular types of authority in domestic knowledge. In the *Privilège* of a child-rearing handbook by Madame and Philippe du Verger, *Le Verger Fertile des Vertus Plein de toute diversité de fruits & fleurs pour l'utilité ornement et sainte instruction de la petite ieunesse*, printed in 1595 in Paris by François Jacquin (USTC 20561), it is argued that the authors' experience in raising children as governesses in Paris must be published so as to not be lost to their contemporaries and future generations.<sup>61</sup>

Thus, although the text concealed the author's name, the book producers of *Nobleza virtuosa* saw fit to suggest – beyond its title-page – that they all knew and supported the woman *autora*. A male priest does take responsibility for 'giving it to the press', but this authorial reticence is immediately and consistently presented as being motivated by scruples of class, not gender. Here the advice given in Castiglione's widely famous *Libro del cortegiano* seems pertinent, since it was precisely that a courtier should be circumspect about showing their work to an audience larger than just one's trusted friends.<sup>62</sup>

Not only did all those involved in the production and publication of *Nobleza virtuosa* agree on supporting the woman *autora*, but they all also concurred on using what Gérard Genette has called the 'affectation of mystery' as part of the marketing campaign. Indeed, the author's identity was unveiled eventually, in the paratexts of a third part – from a total of six – which appeared in Zaragoza by the same publisher in 1639. In the copy in the National Library of Spain, a reader has shown recognition of this fact by adding a marginal annotation under the imprint: 'the Countess of Aranda is the author of this book'.<sup>63</sup> In the countess's will, dated Épila, 17 February 1645, there is a reference to the Countess of Guimerá, co-founder of the literary academy, *La Pítima contra la ociosidad*, near Zaragoza in 1608.<sup>64</sup> The very first rule in becoming a member was precisely the adoption of a pseudonym so as to eschew all possibility of renown, again suggesting that her anonymity was influenced by scruples of class, not gender:

61 Broomhall, *Women and the Book Trade*, p. 84.

62 See Brian Richardson, *Printing, Writers and Readers in Renaissance Italy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), pp. 79–80.

63 See Luisa de Padilla, *Lagrimas de la nobleza* (En Çaragoça: por Pedro Lanaja, 1639) (USTC 5005239) [copy: BNE, R1018]; my translation.

64 'Also, I kindly leave my lady, the Countess of Guimaran, an image of the Escape to Egypt, as a token of the friendship we have always professed one another'. See Manuel Serrano y Sanz, *Apuntes para una biblioteca de escritoras españolas desde el año 1401 al 1833*, II (Madrid: Atlas), p. 103; my translation.

The first [rule] is that members could take a name different to the one they had, on the grounds that the intent and rule of this board lie in getting qualified, rather than in achieving renown through the noise and opinion that could arise from the fruits derived from this activity, and so they did immediately.<sup>65</sup>

In sum, a comparative approach which views the question of literary self-consciousness as being intrinsically related to the question of authority serves to identify and explain similarities, not just differences, in the promotion of male and female-authored texts in writing for publication. Similarly, such an approach helps to expose the pervasive fallacies of reading women's first-person statements and other gendered perspectives used in their published works literally and uncritically. Indeed, even if some related to personal experiences, we cannot overlook the rhetorical and material contexts in which the writers' remarks appeared – not least genre, tradition, medium, and contemporary trends. In the early period, certainly in the seventeenth century, writing for publication involved making use of a wide range of authorial and editorial strategies, which included the exploitation of personal details such as the author's place of birth, religious status or affiliation, marital and class status, as well as gender. Due to the conditions of patronage, it was often publishers and patrons, not authors, who initiated the literary enterprise. This practice, in turn, necessarily invites us to concede that literary production and success, male and female, ultimately depended on the writer's proximity to the agents of power. The question of gender, therefore, had a relational value – literary practice and success concerned the effects of a complex and interconnected web of factors. The examples discussed and analysed in this chapter are testament to the fact that the mercantilization of the literary product in the seventeenth century impinged on textual production, irrespective of the author's gender.

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65 *Actas de Pitima contra la ociosidad* [literary academy] (Zaragoza, 1608) [copy: BNE, MSS/9396], 3, my translation. The Countess of Guimerá co-founded it with her mother-in-law the Countess of Heril in the summer of 1608. It was hosted on the estate at Fréscano of the count of Guimerá, Gaspar Galcerán de Castro y Pinós, the amusingly named group (called after a type of *socrocio* or saffron poultice applied to the heart against melancholy) met every afternoon from 9 June to 30 August 1608, and included, besides the women, the count's two sons and members of his household; it accepted verse or prose in Latin, Castilian, or Valencian, and held *certámenes* in honour of the beatification of Fray Luis Beltrán, St Agnes, and St Francis, as well as discussing such diverse topics as Virgil and Alciato, jurisprudence, and anatomy.

**PART 3**

*The Stage in Print*





## Printed Plays in Early Modern Spain

*Don Cruickshank*

Spain is unusual in the number of theatre texts produced during the country's literary high point, the Golden Age. A recent catalogue of seventeenth-century authors alone lists approximately 10,000 titles.<sup>1</sup> It must be admitted that some of these are alternative titles for the same work, while others are probably ghosts; large numbers of items have vanished (including even some which we know were printed), leaving only their titles behind, although lost works, sometimes by major dramatists, continue to be discovered.<sup>2</sup>

Efforts have been made to calculate how many theatre texts got into print: the first serious attempt was made by Juan Isidro Fajardo, whose *Índice de todas las comedias impresas hasta el año de 1716* (Ms 14706, Biblioteca Nacional de España) is still relatively unstudied. His total number of titles is around 2170.<sup>3</sup> We can compare this figure with Sir Walter Greg's 941 (including his 'Additions' and 187 'Lost Plays') in England.<sup>4</sup> Greg's cut-off point is fifty-six years earlier than Fajardo's, but he had huge advantages in terms of catalogued libraries and other information sources. Fajardo provided a bibliography of the works he had consulted, and he clearly wished to include only those items which he possessed or had examined. A significant number of his items have disappeared: for example, on 38<sup>v</sup> he includes 'Nuestra S<sup>a</sup>. de los Remedios de Cald<sup>n</sup> s<sup>t</sup>.' and 'N<sup>a</sup>. S<sup>a</sup>. de la Almudena de Cald<sup>n</sup> s<sup>t</sup>. 1<sup>a</sup>. y 2<sup>a</sup>. Parte'. His meticulous list of abbreviations indicates that 'Cald<sup>n</sup>' and 's<sup>t</sup>.' are 'Calderón' and '*suelta*' (i.e., 'loose', not bound with any other item); and we know that Calderón wrote these three plays, since they appear in both of his own lists; but they are lost.

Fajardo gave places of printing for many *suestras*, perhaps because they had imprints, possibly because experience enabled him to distinguish Madrid ones

1 Héctor Urzáiz Tortajada, *Catálogo de autores teatrales del siglo XVII*. Investigaciones Bibliográficas sobre Autores Españoles (2 vols., Madrid: Fundación Universitaria Española, 2002).

2 The most recent is Lope de Vega's *Mujeres y criados*, identified in the Biblioteca Nacional by Alejandro García Reidy in 2010: <http://www.elmundo.es/cultura/2014/01/22/52df08e52260id48508b4584.html> (accessed 25 June 2014).

3 It is difficult to be precise without identifying alternative titles for the same text, or the same work ascribed to more than one author (which happened in different editions).

4 W.W. Greg, *A Bibliography of the English Printed Drama to the Restoration*, 4 vols. (London: The Bibliographical Society, 1939–59).

from those produced in Seville and Valencia, but he did not draw attention to false imprints, and no attempt has been made to count the percentage of these, or of items with no imprints: the lack of an imprint is obvious, but a false imprint is often very hard to identify, while identifying the true date and printer is usually harder still. The number of imprintless items is enormous, and any attempt to investigate the development of Spanish classical theatre, or to catalogue chronologically those works which were printed, must take cognizance of the 'imprint problem'.

The imprint problem is not insoluble, but in order to understand its nature, we need to know some details of the history of printing in Spain, and of play-printing in particular. When Juan Párix began printing in Segovia in 1472, he used roman type he had brought from Italy. Reliance on imported typographical material became the norm in Spain, and while there were some Spanish typefounders, examples of Spanish type produced from scratch are sporadic.<sup>5</sup> Párix's roman designs were not immediately welcomed, and rotunda was favoured for three quarters of a century (a typographical backwater like Burgos retained it until the early seventeenth century). The second half of the sixteenth century saw the proliferation of roman fonts, many cut by Frenchmen like Garamont or Granjon, or Netherlanders like Guyot, Tavernier and van den Keere. We know from his specimens that a printer like Plantin had scores of designs, but the average seventeenth-century Spanish printer might have only six to eight text-types: *glosilla* (8-point), *entredós* (10-point), *lectura/cícero* (pica, 12-point), *atanasia* (14-point), *texto* (18-point), *parangona* (20-point) and *gran paragona* (24-point), most of them in roman and italic. He might have three or four sizes of titling capitals, and some metal ornaments, such as stars, leaves, hands, etc. This is about twenty different fonts; it would be very rare for two printers to have exactly the same twenty, and no printer could have all twenty on the same body and in the same state of wear as another, to say nothing of woodblock ornaments or initial capitals, which are unique. The circumstances prevailing in the early days of printing, whereby a printer made his type from scratch, creating fonts peculiar to him, had long since ceased to operate by

5 Jacinto Taberniel/Tavernier (grandson of the Flemish punchcutter Ameet Tavernier?), apparently cut punches for the special sorts required by Gonzalo Correas in his *Ortografía kastellana nueva i perfeta* (Salamanca: Jacinto Taberniel, 1630) (USTC 5022735). When Pedro Disses was induced to come to Madrid from Burgundy around 1685 to make type from scratch, none had been made in Spain for some time: D.W. Cruickshank, 'The Types of Pedro Disses, Punchcutter', *Journal of the Printing Historical Society*, 17 (1982–83), 72–91, and Jaime Moll, 'Las letrerías grabadas por Pedro Disses', *Bulletin of Spanish Studies*, xc (2013), 767–785.



1600, but it is still possible, if enough reliably dated material survives, to attribute and date any imprintless material.

The early part of this investigative process is perhaps the trickiest. For example, if we count the printers active in Seville between 1620 and 1650, we find twenty-seven. This is daunting enough, but how does the investigation get to Seville, and the period 1620–1650, in the first place? The answer is that the manner of printing plays in Spain gradually changed, while the nature of some changes, and the pace of them, varied from place to place. By studying developments and changes, we can find enough information to assign approximate dates, and even approximate places, to items with false imprints, or none.

The literary historians say that the ‘father of Spanish drama’ was Juan del Encina, born in or near Salamanca in 1468. The first plays printed in Spanish were eight of his eclogues, which appeared in his *Cancionero* of 1496. The *Cancionero* is a folio of 118 leaves, printed in Salamanca. As the title suggests, the main contents are the writer’s poems; the eclogues occupy only the last thirteen leaves, and range from 180 to 550 lines (some of Calderón’s later plays have over 4000). The *Cancionero* had six reprints, two of them in Salamanca, but neither that city nor the *Cancionero* itself set precedents for the manner of play-printing in Spain, and Salamanca did not become an important drama-printing centre. The city which emerges as an early source of innovation in play-printing is Valencia, while the practices being devised in publishing poetry were a significant influence.

Printing reached Valencia in 1473, the year after Párix printed Spain’s first books. The first poetry printed there, or anywhere in Spain, is the *Trobes en lahors de la Verge Maria*, forty-five poems, most of them in Valencian, which record a poetry competition of 11 February 1474. However, at sixty quarto leaves, the *Trobes* are modest in comparison with the *Cancionero general*, a folio of 242 leaves, also printed in Valencia (1511) (USTC 337077), and containing over a thousand poems.<sup>6</sup>

These two collections were aimed at the top end of the market, but printers saw that the cost of large books discouraged buyers, and also produced *pliegos sueltos*, ‘loose folds’: single sheets folded twice to make a quarto. Poems printed in this format were often ballads, traditional or contemporary. Most traditional ballads will not fill a quarto sheet, so these early *pliegos* contain several poems, often anonymous. In this context Valencian publishers introduced another

6 There were eight editions in the sixteenth century: for the first four, see F.J. Norton, *A Descriptive Catalogue of Printing in Spain and Portugal, 1501–1520* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978), 402–403, 404–405, 416–417, 447.

innovation: the numbered series. The first examples seem to be of 1592, published by Juan Bautista Timoneda.<sup>7</sup>

While the practices which developed in the publication of poems influenced that of plays, the idea of the numbered series of *comedias sueltas* did not arrive until the late seventeenth century, although the *suelta* followed closely on the heels of the *pliego suelto*. The oldest surviving *suelta* is the *Égloga interlocutoria* (Alcalá, about 1503) (USTC 347528) attributed to Diego Guillén de Ávila; it collates a<sup>8</sup> b<sup>8</sup> c<sup>2</sup>, two gatherings of quarto in eights, and half a sheet.<sup>8</sup> As we shall see, the format of quarto in eights, with the third gathering tailored to the length of the play, became the norm for well over another century.

When Encina's *Cancionero* was printed, there was no tradition for the format of printed plays, and no printers who specialised in them. While the *Cancionero* was a folio, like most early play collections, *suelas* were printed in quarto from the start. There was another way of printing plays, however, a compromise between the collected folio volume and the quarto *suelta*: a group of separable units. This idea celebrated its quincentenary in 2014: in 1514 the *Farsas y églogas* of Lucas Fernández were printed as a folio in Salamanca, with the collation A<sup>6</sup> B<sup>4</sup> C<sup>6</sup> D<sup>4</sup> F<sup>4</sup> a<sup>6</sup>. Both surviving copies lack gathering E, and while the first gathering contains two items, the last five gatherings have one each, and could have been sold separately. This became so common a procedure that Spanish bibliographers have a word for such an item: *desglosable*, disbindable.

The first publisher to develop this potential was the Valencian Juan Timoneda, father of the Juan Bautista who would invent the numbered series in 1592. In 1563–65 Timoneda published a volume of plays he called *Turiana*, after Valencia's river (USTC 346445). The only copy is imperfect, but the original contained at least six plays. Each had a separate gathering (C, D, E, G, H, [?I]), and title-page, with date: the volume was planned for issue in parts over a period (perhaps it was bound by a collector who missed the conjectural gatherings A, B and F). A century and a half went by before English readers were offered a similar publication: the *Collection of Plays by Eminent Hands* (London: for W. Mears, 1719). That collection ran to four duodecimo volumes and contained more plays than Timoneda's, but, as with *Turiana*, each play was separately

7 Carlos Romero de Lecea, *La imprenta y los pliegos poéticos* (Madrid: Joyas Bibliográficas, 1974), 105–141.

8 See María Elvira Roca Barea, 'Diego Guillén de Ávila, autor y traductor del siglo xv', *Revista de Filología Española*, 86 (2006), 373–394.

paginated, with its own independently-dated title-page; no perfect copy survives.<sup>9</sup> By 1719, however, the Spanish play-printing juggernaut had moved on.

There was no agreement in the 1560s about what a collected volume of plays should contain; the use of the word *parte* to describe one first appears in the *Primera parte de las comedias y tragedias* of Juan de la Cueva (Seville, 1583) (USTC 345517). This volume contains fourteen plays, but while *primera parte* implies more parts to follow, Cueva published no others that we know of.<sup>10</sup> The use of the word *parte* is significant, however, with its implications of a series, an implication seized upon by Lope de Vega. Lope began writing plays in the 1580s; in Zaragoza in 1604 there appeared a quarto volume of twelve plays entitled *Las comedias del famoso poeta Lope de Vega Carpio*. This is reckoned as his *Primera parte*, and its success (at least fourteen editions by 1627) encouraged others: a *Segunda parte* (1609), *Tercera parte* (1612), *Quarta parte* (1614), and so on. All were quartos with twelve plays, but not all had Lope's approval. For example, one edition of the *Tercera parte* (full title *Tercera parte de las comedias de Lope de Vega y otros auctores*) is a pirate, printed in *desglosable* form. During this period the Valencians produced two more collections: *Doze comedias famosas de quatro poetas naturales de [...] Valencia* (1608), and *Norte de la poesía española* (1616), both of them with plays by four authors. All these plays were quartos, *desglosables*, mostly in eights, although the third gathering varied with the length of the play, in the manner already noted. By now, twelve plays per volume was the norm, although several of these early volumes also contained shorter pieces, such as prologues, reflecting practice in the theatres.<sup>11</sup>

By 1625 twenty Lope *partes* had appeared, some in several editions. In March of that year the Council of Castile, alarmed by the political and moral threats allegedly posed by plays, stopped issuing printing licences for them.<sup>12</sup> Some authors turned to Aragonese publishers, who were unaffected, while Castilians

9 See Roy M. Wiles, *Serial Publication in England before 1750* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1957), 16.

10 It should be remembered, however, that the first edition of the *Primera parte* survives in one copy, now in Vienna's Nationalbibliothek. I am grateful to Simon Kroll for checking the wording of the title-page for me.

11 While the number of acts varied at first, plays eventually came to have three. They might be preceded by a prologue (*loa*) and completed by a *fin de fiesta*, while the acts would be separated by humorous *entremeses* or *mojigangas* of a few hundred lines. A single play, then, could be accompanied by four minor pieces.

12 See Jaime Moll, 'Diez años sin licencias para imprimir comedias y novelas en los reinos de Castilla: 1625-1634', *Boletín de la Real Academia Española*, LIV (1974), 97-103.

risked prosecution by printing plays under the names of Aragonese printers. As Lope's output fell, publishers turned to the younger generation of writers. None of these was as prolific, but the tradition of publishing collections, either of poems or of plays, by different authors, was well established. The one surviving copy of a volume of twelve *desglosables* by six authors, printed in the late 1620s (no preliminaries survive), has been reckoned as the first of the series *Diferentes autores*, and so printed in Aragón, probably Zaragoza.<sup>13</sup> However, Jaime Moll has shown that the volume was printed in Seville by Manuel de Sande of Seville, with the exception of play 6; I can add that this play appears to be by Andrés Grande (also Seville).<sup>14</sup> At first the *Diferentes* series followed the numbering of Lope *partes*, and the first volume to preserve a title-page with this new wording was Part 25: *Parte veynte y cinco de comedias recopiladas de diferentes autores* (Zaragoza, a costa de Pedro Escuer, mercader de libros, 1632) (USTC 5038126). Escuer played a major part in the series. Evidently he and his bookseller colleagues chose the plays which were included; often they must have settled for what was available.

Just as collected volumes of poems like the *Trobes* of 1474 preceded the *pliegos sueltos*, and Encina's publication of his plays in a collection was followed by *comedias sueltas*, so the new collected volumes of Lope's plays and the *Diferentes* series gave rise to a new wave of *suestras*. It seems certain that the licence ban introduced in 1625 by the Council of Castile also acted as a trigger. Since the Council's writ did not run in Aragón, the Aragonese book trade soon realised that a new market was waiting across the border. The trade in Castile, on the other hand, saw that the ban could be circumvented by not applying for licences: producing a whole volume of plays might be risky, legally and financially, but a single play could be printed in days, at relatively little cost; and the Council of Castile could not identify printers of imprintless items. The tradition existed for ephemera such as *pliegos sueltos* to carry no imprint, and although the Council belatedly (in 1627) demanded that even ephemera should carry these, the flood-gates had been opened: *comedias sueltas* with no imprint proliferated from the late 1620s on. The Council had shot itself in its collective

13 See Maria Grazia Profeti, *La collezione »Diferentes autores«* (Kassel; Reichenberger, 1988), pp. 21–27.

14 See Jaime Moll, *Problemas bibliográficos del Siglo de Oro* (Madrid: Arco/Libros, 2011), pp. 207–209. The Freiburg catalogue lists the volume (E 1032, g-4) as *Parte quarta de comedias de varios autores* (Zaragoza: Esquer, 1630) (USTC 5041942), following an incorrect guess by Schaeffer, who once owned the volume. The volume may still be regarded as 'Parte XXI de Lope y otros', but its typography leaves no doubt about its origin.

foot, but the piracy its actions had encouraged gave no pleasure to the writers, who complained vociferously:

Lope has also been forced to publish this story by seeing the freedom with which the booksellers of Seville, Cádiz and other places in Andalucía, under the guise of their being printed in Zaragoza and Barcelona, and using the names of printers there, bring out [parts of] different volumes in theirs, putting in them plays by ignorant men.<sup>15</sup>

LOPE DE VEGA, 1632

The plays which have been printed up to now without my authorisation are false, full of lies, spurious and adulterated; because, since those who steal them have too little room to transcribe them, and those who print them buy them from the thieves, they appear full of nonsense, errors and barbarities [...], a harm which comes to us not only from other kingdoms, but from Cádiz and Seville.<sup>16</sup>

JUAN PÉREZ DE MONTALBÁN, 1632

Let your worship read it as mine, for it is not printed in Seville, of which the booksellers, with an eye on profit, shuffle the names of poets, and deal out sevens to some and knaves to others.<sup>17</sup>

LOPE DE VEGA, 1634

By the time when the licence-ban ended, piracy and false attribution were endemic, and would last for decades:

my plays numbered twenty-two, the titles of which I shall set down here so that they may be recognised as mine, since the printers give the title they want and the author's name they fancy to all or most of those printed in Seville.<sup>18</sup>

ANTONIO ENRÍQUEZ GÓMEZ, 1656

15 'Al teatro', ostensibly by Francisco López de Aguilar (but really by Lope), in Lope de Vega, *La Dorotea* (1632), ed. Edwin S. Morby (Madrid: Castalia, 1968), 54.

16 Juan Pérez de Montalbán, *Para todos, ejemplos morales, humanos y divinos* (Seville: Francisco de Lyra, 1645) (first published 1632) (USTC 5011895), ¶5<sup>v</sup>.

17 Lope de Vega Carpio, *El castigo sin venganza* (Barcelona: Pedro Lacavallería, 1634) (USTC 5009386), Prólogo, A3<sup>v</sup>.

18 Antonio Enríquez Gómez, *Sansón nazareno, poema heroico* (Rouen: Laurenço Maurry, 1656), ã4<sup>v</sup>.

Some maintain that almost all those which are printed in Seville for export to the Indies are promoted with the name of Don Pedro [Calderón].<sup>19</sup>

JUAN DE VERA TASSIS, 1682

If we examine *sueltas* from the licence-ban period, we notice certain characteristics. Liverpool University Library has a collection of them, bound in one volume, pressmark L57.13. The volume contains twenty-one plays: twenty *sueltas* and one (the ninth, *El niño diablo*) *desglosable*, that is, designed as part of a collection. The label on the spine proclaims *Comedia [sic] de Lope Vol. II*, although the last four plays bear the names of other authors in their head-titles. All plays lack imprint and date. Neither the owner nor the binder provided a contents-list, but this is typical of these nonce collections. There is no common theme in the collection, no ordering by subject-matter or by title, although the fact that the headings of the first seventeen attribute them to Lope provides some justification for the label on the spine:

- 1 *El satisfazer callando* (doubtful Lope; also attributed to Agustín Moreto). A<sup>8</sup> B<sup>4</sup> C<sup>8</sup> (A<sub>5</sub> signed; all four leaves of gathering B signed). Foliated.
- 2 *Pusoseme el sol, saliome la luna* (doubtful; also attributed to Andrés de Claramonte). A–B<sup>8</sup> C<sup>4</sup> D<sup>2</sup>. Foliated.
- 3 *El premio en la misma pena* (very doubtful; also attributed to Moreto and to Pérez de Montalbán). A–B<sup>8</sup> C<sup>4</sup> (B<sub>5</sub>, C<sub>3</sub> signed). Foliated.
- 4 *El embaxador fingido* (alternative title, *Los desprecios en quien ama*; very doubtful, also attributed to Pérez de Montalbán). A–B<sup>8</sup>. Unfol.
- 5 *Las mocedades de Bernardo del Carpio* (doubtful, possibly genuine). A–B<sup>8</sup> C<sup>4</sup>. Foliated.
- 6 *La ventura de la fea* (not by Lope in its present state; also attributed to Antonio Mira de Amescua). A–B<sup>8</sup> C<sup>4</sup> (A<sub>5</sub>, B<sub>5</sub>, C<sub>3</sub> signed). Foliated.
- 7 *Mas vale salto de mata que ruego de buenos* (very doubtful; also attributed to ‘un ingenio de esta corte’). A–D<sup>4</sup> E<sup>2</sup>. Unfol.
- 8 *El hijo de los leones* (genuine Lope, but also attributed to Jerónimo de Cáncer and to ‘un ingenio’). A–E<sup>4</sup> (A<sub>3</sub> signed, D<sub>2</sub> unsigned). Unfol.
- 9 *El niño diablo* (probably by Luis Vélez de Guevara). Ee–Ff<sup>8</sup> Gg<sup>4</sup>. Foliated 185–204.
- 10 *Mas mal ay en el aldeguela que se suena* (probably genuine, but also attributed to Francisco de Villegas, with the title *El hijo de la molinera*). A–B<sup>8</sup> C<sup>2</sup>. Foliated.

19 Pedro Calderón de la Barca, *Verdadera quinta parte de comedias* (Madrid: Francisco Sanz, 1682), Advertencias a los que leyeren, 6¶1<sup>r</sup>.

- 11 *El gran cardenal de España* (probably by Antonio Enríquez Gómez). A–B<sup>8</sup> C<sup>4</sup> (all four leaves of C signed). Foliated.
- 12 *El merito en la templanza, y ventura por el sueño* (probably by Jerónimo de Villalazán). A–D<sup>4</sup> E<sup>2</sup>. Unfol.
- 13 *La vida es sueño* (by Calderón). A–B<sup>8</sup> C<sup>4</sup> D<sup>2</sup>. Foliated.
- 14 *La madrastra mas honrada* (the metre has been linked to Carlos Boyl). A–D<sup>4</sup>. Unfol.
- 15 *El valor perseguido* (very doubtful; also attributed to Pérez de Montalbán). A–D<sup>4</sup> E<sup>2</sup>. Unfol.
- 16 *Los martires de Madrid* (doubtful). A–B<sup>8</sup> C<sup>4</sup>. Foliated.
- 17 *Tanto hagas, quanto pagues* (probably not by Lope; also attributed to Jacinto Cordero, to Francisco de Rojas and to Moreto). A–D<sup>4</sup> E<sup>2</sup>. Unfol.
- 18 Mira de Amescua, *La prospera fortuna de don Bernardo de Cabrera* (probably by Mira, but also attributed to Lope). A–B<sup>8</sup> C<sup>4</sup>. Foliated.
- 19 Mira de Amescua, *La adversa fortuna de don Bernardo de Cabrera* (probably by Mira, but also attributed to Lope). A–B<sup>8</sup> C<sup>6</sup>. Foliated.
- 20 Álvaro Cubillo de Aragón, *El rayo de Andaluzia, y genizaro de España* (genuine). A–B<sup>8</sup> C<sup>4</sup>. Foliated.
- 21 Guillén de Castro, *La tragedia por los zelos* (genuine). A–B<sup>8</sup> C<sup>6</sup>. Unfol.

Only one of the twenty-one, *El hijo de los leones*, is definitely by Lope; no. 10 may be his. The last and second-last are definitely by Cubillo and Castro respectively; and we know that Calderón wrote *La vida es sueño*. All the rest, to some degree, are of doubtful authorship.<sup>20</sup>

While it may seem hard to know where to start looking for the printers of these imprintless plays, we can take the complaining authors at their word, and start in Seville as the likeliest place. Three of the plays (5, 9, 21) have woodblocks, and their use by the Seville printers Francisco de Lyra (active 1611–1650), Simón Faxardo (active 1622–1650) and Manuel de Sande (active 1627–1635) confirms the initial decision. The next stage is to catalogue every font and ornament used in the *sueñas*, noting body-size (a vertical measurement of twenty lines of text) and set (horizontal) where possible (e.g., the width of the words IORNADA SEGVNDA). There are twenty-three roman fonts, thirteen italics, six designs of metal ornament and four woodblocks (some of the roman and

20 My chief source of information here is S. Griswold Morley and Courtney Bruerton, *Cronología de las comedias de Lope de Vega*, versión española de María Rosa Cartes, revisado por S. Griswold Morley, 1963 (Madrid: Gredos, 1968). I have also used Urzáiz Tortajada, *Catálogo*.

italic fonts are of the same design, but have a different set or body-size, and are therefore different fonts). It is reasonable to assume that the *sueeltas* may be of similar date and origin, so that the Seville contemporaries of Lyra, Faxardo and Sande may be examined for their use of fonts not found in these three. As Lyra and Faxardo were the busiest Seville printers of their day, they had a large output, and we can follow the development of their typographical material over their careers. The application of this process to their contemporaries produces these attributions:

1	<i>El satisfacer callando</i>	Andrés Grande, 1626–29
2	<i>Púsoseme el sol ...</i>	Simón Faxardo, 1632–33
3	<i>El premio ...</i>	Francisco de Lyra, c. 1632
4	<i>El embajador fingido</i>	Francisco de Lyra, 1632–34
5	<i>Las mocedades ...</i>	Simón Faxardo, 1632–33
6	<i>La ventura de la fea</i>	Andrés Grande, 1626–29
7	<i>Más vale salto de mata ...</i>	Francisco de Lyra, 1632–34
8	<i>El hijo de los leones</i>	Francisco de Lyra, c. 1632
9	<i>El niño diablo</i>	Manuel de Sande, c. 1630
10	<i>Más mal hay ...</i>	Andrés Grande, 1629
11	<i>El gran cardenal ...</i>	Andrés Grande, 1629
12	<i>El mérito ...</i>	Francisco de Lyra, c. 1632
13	<i>La vida es sueño</i>	Francisco de Lyra, 1632–34
14	<i>La madrastra más honrada</i>	Francisco de Lyra, 1632–34
15	<i>El valor perseguido</i>	Francisco de Lyra, c. 1632
16	<i>Los mártires de Madrid</i>	Simón Faxardo, 1632–33
17	<i>Tanto hagas, cuanto pagues</i>	Francisco de Lyra, c. 1632
18	<i>La próspera fortuna ...</i>	Simón Faxardo, 1628–29
19	<i>La adversa fortuna ...</i>	Simón Faxardo, 1632–33
20	<i>El rayo de Andalucía ...</i>	Francisco de Lyra, 1632–34
21	<i>La tragedia por los celos</i>	Manuel de Sande, 1627–29

The texts of all twenty-one plays are printed in pica, mostly of 84mm or 84.5mm/20 lines, although no. 18 uses Guyot *médiane romaine* on a body of only 79.5mm/20 lines, while no. 21 uses Granjon *gros cicéro* on an 86mm body.<sup>21</sup>

21 The Guyot was first recorded in 1544: see John Dreyfus (ed.): *Type Specimen Facsimiles*, 2 vols. (London: Bowes and Bowes, Bodley Head, 1963–72) (hereafter *TSF*) I, 1, and H.D.L. Vervliet, *Sixteenth-Century Printing Types of the Low Countries* (Amsterdam: Menno Hertzberger, 1968), 268. The Granjon was first used about 1568, and in Seville as early as 1571: see *TSF* II, p. 9, no. 37 (ascender and descender sorts only) and *TSF* I, 4, 12 and 13.



Items 3 and 5 have texts printed in two different pica fonts. No *sueeltas* have upper-case J or U in any font. Thirteen are foliated, eight unfoliated; none is paginated. Fifteen are quartos in eights, while only six are quartos in fours; and while common practice was to sign the first half of the leaves in a gathering (four out of eight, two out of four), five items have one or more signatures in the second half. Nine *sueeltas* use a large italic (Guyot's *texte italique*, great primer) for running headlines, while five use *atanasia* (14-point, english) italic; the remaining seven use great primer romans, Garamont's and Tavernier's. Wherever italics are used, swash letters are common.

Three other features are worth recording. The foliated items have numbers on the leaves following the first folio, but in nine items the abbreviation 'Fol.' is added on the first leaf ('Fol.1'). Secondly, six items include the name of the manager of the performing company in the head-title (e.g., *Representòla Christoual de Auendaño*, no. 13). Finally, three items use a decorative woodblock tail-piece (no. 9, two).

We can look next at an ostensibly later collection: the *Sexta parte de comedias escogidas* supposedly produced in Zaragoza by the heirs of Pedro Lanaja y Lamarca in 1653. There appears to be only one surviving copy of this edition, in Vienna. The *tabla* gives these details:

- 1 *Mirad à quien alabais. De Lope de Vega Carpio.* (A–D<sup>4</sup>, A<sub>3</sub> signed. Unfol.)
- 2 *El Angel de la Guarda. De D. Pedro Calderon.* (not his; A–D<sup>4</sup>, all leaves signed save A<sub>4</sub>. Unfol.)
- 3 *El Capitan Belisario. De Lope de Vega.* (i.e., Mira de Amescua; A–D<sup>4</sup>, all leaves signed save D<sub>3</sub>, D<sub>4</sub>. Unfol.)
- 4 *El Diablo Predicador. De Luis de Velmôte.* (A–D<sup>4</sup>, first three leaves of each gathering signed. Unfol.)
- 5 *Los Principes de la Iglesia. De D. Christoual de Monroy.* (A–D<sup>4</sup>. Unfol.)
- 6 *Díneros son calidad. De Lope de Vega.* (doubtful; A–D<sup>4</sup>. Unfol.)
- 7 *El juramēto ante Dios. De Iacinto Cordero.* (A–D<sup>4</sup>. Unfol.)
- 8 *Las mocedades de Bernardo del Carpio. De Lope de Vega.* (doubtful; A–D<sup>4</sup>. Unfol.)
- 9 *Los Encantos de Medea. De Roxas.* (A–C<sup>4</sup> D<sup>2</sup>. Unfol.)
- 10 *El satisfacer callãdo, y Princesa de los Môtes. De Lope de Vega.* (doubtful; A–D<sup>4</sup>. Unfol.)
- 11 *Don Domingo de Don Blas. De Iuan Ruiz de Alarcon.* (A–D<sup>4</sup>, all leaves signed. Unfol.)
- 12 *Vengarse con fuego, y agua. De Don Pedro Calderon.* (= *A secreto agravio, secreta venganza*. A–D<sup>4</sup>, first three leaves of each gathering signed. Unfol.).

What is extraordinary about this collection is that all the *suellas* are quartos in fours and collate A–D<sup>4</sup>, with the exception of *Los encantos de Medea*, which is too short for four complete quarto gatherings. This is so convenient as to be very suspicious, especially since three of the plays end neatly at the foot of the last page. A line-count of the last, *Vengarse con fuego y agua*, finds 2564. A count of *A secreto agravio* in Calderón's *Segunda parte* (1637) gives 2748: the *suelta* text has been compressed, saving ten pages of the *parte*'s forty-two, but neatness has been achieved at the cost of 184 lines. Calderón referred in 1672 to this practice: 'where the sheet ends, the act ends, and where the gathering ends, the play ends'.<sup>22</sup>

There are other noteworthy features about these twelve *suellas*. None of them has any page numbering, although five have signed leaves in the second half of their gatherings. 'Fol.1' is not present on any first leaves, and there is no sign of J and U, or of actors' names. The text pica italic is used for running-heads in most of the plays, but nos. 5 and 12 use *atanasia* in roman, while no. 6 uses *atanasia* italics. It is clear, however, that although the same type designs are not always used for the same purpose, all the *suellas* were produced in the same printing-house. In particular, the text roman and italic are the same in all. The italic is Granjon's *cicéro cursive*, which goes back to 1548.<sup>23</sup> The only printers using it in Spain after 1620 seem to have been in Seville. The design used for the author's name is Granjon's *gros texte italique*, series 3.<sup>24</sup> It is noticeable that the *R* of *PEDRO* is different from the *R* of *CALDERON*. This is not a swash variety of the same face, but a different face, Guyot's *texte italique*.<sup>25</sup> Guyot's *texte* may be the commonest italic used in Spain, but few printers mixed it with Granjon *texte* 3; one who did was Simón Faxardo of Seville, who also had the Granjon *cicéro cursive*. While the date needs more research, it looks like c. 1640. Faxardo apparently died during the Seville plague in 1650: he cannot have assembled this volume in 1653, but he probably printed the *suellas* which compose it.

22 'Donde acaba el pliego, acaba la Iornada, y donde acaba el quaderno, acaba la Comedia', Pedro Calderón de la Barca, *Quarta parte de comedias* (Madrid: Joseph Fernández de Buendía, 1672), ¶¶2.

23 See D.W. Cruickshank, 'Towards an Atlas of Italic Types Used in Spain, 1528–1700', in *The Iberian Book and its Readers: Essays for Ian Michael*. *Bulletin of Spanish Studies*, LXXXI (2004), 973–1010 (998–999, 1007).

24 Cruickshank, 'Towards an Atlas', 987–988, 1006.

25 Cruickshank, 'Towards an Atlas', 982–986, 1005. The same two designs of *R* appear in no. 9, in *FRANCISCO* and *ROXAS*.

There are three copies available for examination of the 1654 version of the *Sexta parte*, in Vienna, the Bodleian Library and Florence. The contents-leaf is as follows:

- 1 No ay ser Padre siendo Rey. *De don Francisco de Rojas*. (A–E<sup>4</sup>; third leaf in each gathering signed. Unfol.)
- 2 Cada qual à su negocio. *De don Geronimo de Cuellar*. (A–B<sup>8</sup> C<sup>6</sup>. Unfol.)
- 3 El Burlador de Seuilla. *Del Maestro Tirso de Molina*. (A–D<sup>4</sup>. Unfol.)
- 4 Progne y Filomena. *De don Francisco de Rojas*. (A–B<sup>8</sup> C<sup>6</sup>. Unfol.)
- 5 Los Trabajos de Iob. *Del Doctor Felipe Godínez*. (A–B<sup>8</sup>. Unfol.)
- 6 Obligados, y Ofendidos. *De don Francisco de Rojas*. (A–B<sup>8</sup> C<sup>6</sup>. Unfol.)
- 7 El Esclauo del Demonio. *Del Doctor Mirademescua*. (A–D<sup>4</sup> E<sup>2</sup>. Unfol.)
- 8 El Martir de Portugal [= *El príncipe constante*]. *De don Francisco de Rojas*. (i.e., Calderón, correct in play-heading. A–D<sup>4</sup> E<sup>2</sup>. Unfol.)
- 9 La Vanda y la Flor. *De don Pedro Calderon*. (A–D<sup>4</sup> E<sup>2</sup>. Unfol.)
- 10 A vn tiempo Rey y Vasallo. *De tres Ingenios*. (A–D<sup>4</sup>. Unfol.; play ends D<sup>3r</sup>, followed by poem, 'Pintura a una dama', by Cáncer; woodblock on D<sup>4v</sup>)
- 11 El pleito del demonio con la virgen. *De tres Ingenios*. (A–B<sup>8</sup> C<sup>2</sup> [C<sup>1</sup> signed E]. Unfol.)
- 12 El gran Duque de Florencia [= *Los Medicis de Florencia*, the title used in the *suelta*]. *De don Diego Ximenez de Enciso*. (A–C<sup>8</sup>; C<sup>8</sup> blank. Unfol.)

Six of these *sueeltas* are quartos in eights, six in fours. All are unfoliated, so there are no examples of 'Fol.1', of J and U, actors' names, and only the first *suelta* uses signatures in the second half of the gatherings; one has a woodblock, which is very useful: it belonged to the Imprenta Real (Madrid), which used it in Góngora's *Todas las obras* (1654). Comparison of the types of that book with those of the *sueeltas* reveals that they form two groups:

Group 1	Group 2
No hay ser padre siendo rey (play 1)	Cada cual a su negocio (2)
Progne y Filomena (4)	El burlador de Sevilla (3)
Obligados y ofendidos (6)	Los trabajos de Job (5)
El mártir de Portugal (8)	El esclavo del demonio (7)
Los Médicis de Florencia (12)	La banda y la flor (9)
	A un tiempo rey y vasallo (10) + woodblock
	El pleito del demonio con la virgen (11)

Group 1 gives authors' names in italics, usually in Guyot *texte*, while Group 2 uses roman. Group 1 is very homogeneous: all the plays in the group use the same four romans and the same two italics, and all use Guyot *texte* in running headlines. This looks like the work of one compositor over a short period. The second group is more mixed, but all seven plays use the same pica roman and italic in their texts; for headlines, three (2, 5, 10) use great primer roman, while one (11) uses pica roman, two (3, 7) use pica italic, and one (9) uses Guyot *texte* italic. Of a total of eleven designs, five are found in both groups. The second group has the Imprenta Real woodblock. The same group also has a rare design, used once, in *suelta* 2: the 5.5mm titling capitals attributed to Claude Garamont.<sup>26</sup> Apparently only one firm was using these in Spain in the mid seventeenth century: the Imprenta Real, between 1637 and 1660; in 1654 the Imprenta Real had all eleven of the designs used in the *seltas*. They may be the work of two different compositors, probably around 1654.<sup>27</sup>

In the winter of 1683–84 Samuel Pepys visited Seville and Cadiz, where he indulged his passion for plays and for collecting ephemera. A volume containing twenty-six *seltas*, now in the Pepys Library in Cambridge, is almost certainly the result. A typographical study carried out many years ago attributed twenty-three of the plays to these Seville printers:

Tomé de Dios Miranda, 11, c. 1675–78

Juan Cabezas, 6, c. 1675–79

Tomás López de Haro, 3, c. 1678–83

Juan Francisco de Blas, 2, c. 1673

widow of Nicolás Rodríguez, 1, c. 1671.<sup>28</sup>

Two of the remaining three are certainly of Seville, and from the same period. The third, no. 10, is a *suelta* of Calderón's *Las cadenas del demonio*, which we concluded was of Seville, but perhaps as early as 1650. All twenty-three are quartos in fours, and only one (no. 3, paginated) has any page numbering. The only item with 'extra' signatures is no. 10, which has all leaves signed. About a third of the items use J, although not in all fonts; some also have U. These

26 See H.D.L. Vervliet (ed.), *The Type Specimen of the Vatican Press 1628* (Amsterdam: Menno Hertzberger, 1967), Table 1 (following p. 40), no. 53b, and the second face on p. 53 of the specimen.

27 For the *Sexta parte*, see D.W. Cruickshank, 'The Problem of the *Sexta parte de comedias escogidas*', *Anuario Calderoniano*, 3 (2010), 87–113.

28 E.M. Wilson and D.W. Cruickshank, *Samuel Pepys's Spanish Plays* (London: The Bibliographical Society, 1980).

two letters are sometimes later (and inelegant) additions to sixteenth-century designs which never had them. Most of the prints use small italics for running headlines, but a few still use roman, while two have no headlines at all. Finally, it is clear that by the late 1670s, pica was no longer an automatic choice for the text of a play: five of the items use 10-point, around 68mm/20 lines, as text-type.

After Calderón's death in May 1681, Juan de Vera Tassis began publishing his complete plays, beginning with the *Verdadera quinta parte* (1682). By 1691, he had published nine *partes*, including reprints of the four legitimate ones produced in the author's lifetime. All the volumes were eventually reprinted, but perhaps not soon enough, because the book trade produced imitations by binding together twelve *sueeltas* per *parte* and printing nine sets of preliminaries, somewhat curtailed and lacking the portrait. Copies of the fake editions seem to be almost as common as the real thing, although not all the copies of each *parte* are identical (the compilers evidently did not have the same number of copies of all the editions they used, perhaps because some items had been on the market, as *sueeltas*, for longer). One *suelta* is dated 1699, while others can be dated typographically to the same period.<sup>29</sup> The likeliest date for the assembly of the volumes is 1700–10, and it is instructive to compare the contents of one of them (the *Séptima parte*, my copy) with earlier collections of *sueeltas*:

- 1 *Auristela y Lisidante*. (A–G<sup>4</sup>. Unfol.)
- 2 *Fuego de Dios en el querer bien*. (A–E<sup>4</sup>. Unfol.; B2<sup>v</sup>, B3<sup>r</sup>, C3<sup>v</sup>, C4<sup>r</sup>, D3<sup>v</sup>, D4<sup>r</sup>, E3<sup>v</sup>, E4<sup>r</sup> set in 10-point, ca. 75mm/20 lines; rest in pica, 87mm. Series no. 143)
- 3 *El segundo Scipion*. (A–G<sup>4</sup> H<sup>2</sup>. Foliated; E1<sup>v</sup>, E2<sup>r</sup>, H1<sup>v</sup>, H2<sup>r</sup>, H2<sup>v</sup> set in a different pica font from all the rest: both measure 86mm/20 lines)
- 4 *La exaltacion de la cruz*. (A–F<sup>4</sup>. Foliated)
- 5 *No ay cosa como callar*. (A–E<sup>4</sup>. Unfol.; set in 10-point, 74.5mm/20 lines. Series no. 277)
- 6 *Zelos aun del aire matan*. (A–D<sup>4</sup> E<sup>2</sup>. Unfol. Series no. 307)
- 7 *Mañana sera otro dia*. (A–D<sup>4</sup>. Unfol. Series no. '12'g' [*sic*, for '126.'])
- 8 *Darlo todo y no dar nada*. (A–E<sup>4</sup> F<sup>2</sup>. Unfol.; set in 10-point, 75mm/20 lines, apart from F1<sup>v</sup>, pica, 86mm. Series no. 333)
- 9 *La desdicha de la voz*. (A–E<sup>4</sup>. Foliated; A1<sup>r</sup>, A1<sup>v</sup>, A2<sup>r</sup>, A2<sup>v</sup>, B1<sup>r</sup>, B2<sup>v</sup>, C1<sup>r</sup>, C1<sup>v</sup>, C4<sup>v</sup>, D1<sup>r</sup>, D1<sup>v</sup>, D2<sup>r</sup>, E1<sup>r</sup>, E1<sup>v</sup>, E2<sup>r</sup>, E2<sup>v</sup> set in one pica font, the rest in another. Series no. 132)

29 E.M. Wilson and D.W. Cruickshank, 'A Calderón Collection in Dr Steevens' Hospital, Dublin', *Long Room*, 9 (1974), 17–27.

- 10 *El pintor de su deshonra*. (A–E<sup>4</sup>. Unfol.; E4<sup>v</sup> in 10-point, the rest in pica. Series no. 35)
- 11 *El alcalde de Zalamea*. (A–D<sup>4</sup>. Unfol.; A2<sup>v</sup>, A3<sup>r</sup>, A4<sup>v</sup>, B4<sup>r</sup>, B4<sup>v</sup>, C4<sup>r</sup>, C4<sup>v</sup>, C4<sup>v</sup>, D3<sup>r</sup>, D3<sup>v</sup>, D4<sup>r</sup>, D4<sup>v</sup> set in 10-point, 75.5mm/20 lines, remainder in pica. Series no. 6)<sup>30</sup>
- 12 *El escondido y la tapada*. (A–E<sup>4</sup>. Foliated. Series no. 296).

The most striking feature of this group is that nine items have a series number, with 333 the highest. If one compositor took an average of ten days to set one play (no. 3 has 15 formes, while nos. 7 and 11 have 8), it might take him over ten years to set 333. The use of two pica fonts in nos. 3 and 9 suggests two compositors, but we cannot assume that we are dealing with one series: by the eighteenth century several presses had their own series.

The use of different sizes of type in one text may not point to two compositors; it surely indicates juggling to make the text fit a convenient number of pages. This is particularly obvious in no. 10, where the text is squeezed into five gatherings by using smaller type on the last page.

All twelve texts are quarto in fours, and all have J and U, sometimes in several fonts. Much work remains to be done on these fake volumes, but they were almost certainly produced in Madrid, from Madrid-printed *sueeltas*; a *suelta* with a serial number, or which uses two sizes of type, is unlikely to predate 1690. We can also learn from the larger fonts: the word FAMOSA in the heading is set in the *dos líneas de lectura* of Pedro Disses, first used in 1685.<sup>31</sup> This fact alone tells us that this volume is not the genuine *Séptima parte* of 1683, as do the serial numbers, the lack of continuous signatures and pagination, and the presence of J and U.

Some of the changes reflect the desire to cut costs. We have seen that by the 1670s, Seville printers were using 10-point instead of 12-point for the text. By the 1690s, hendecasyllable lines (once printed in single columns) were being printed in two-column pages; and by the early eighteenth century, they were squeezing three columns of octosyllables into a page.

In 1634 the Castilian authorities admitted that the licence ban had failed, and began again to issue printing licences for plays. Calderón's *Primera* and *Segunda partes* of 1636 and 1637 were among the first collections to benefit

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30 For this item, see also D.W. Cruickshank, 'Some Problems Posed by *suelta* Editions of Plays', *Editing the comedia II*, ed. Michael McGaha & Frank P. Casa (Ann Arbor: Michigan Romance Studies, 1991), 97–123 (114–119).

31 For an illustration of the Disses design, see Cruickshank, 'The Types of Pedro Disses', 91.

from the relaxation, but volumes of *Diferentes* had continued to be published in Aragon, especially in Zaragoza. The series reached Part 44 in 1652 (although no copies survive of Parts 34–40). The relation between the end of the *Diferentes* series and the start of a Madrid-based one is unclear, but the two events coincide in 1652. Madrid publishers may have taken eighteen years to realise that they could compete with Aragonese colleagues in publishing drama anthologies, but they were keen to emphasise that their series was new, beginning with volume 1; and the volumes carried the new wording *comedias escogidas*. The series lasted until 1704, with forty-eight parts, and up to twelve authors in each volume – or even more, if collaboration plays were involved.

There were other series of collected volumes, but *Escogidas* was the largest, and later *suelta* printers often used it as a quarry. Since the numbering of one eighteenth-century *suelta* series depended on the order of Calderón's plays in his *partes*, it may be worth investigating links between other *suelta* series and the series of collected volumes. These possible relationships may also be true of minor theatre: the commonest type of mini-play is the *entremés*, written for performance between acts of a normal play, but printed both singly and in anthologies, invariably in octavo. The *suelos* use one sheet or a half-sheet, depending on the length. Both plays and *entremeses* continued to be printed in *suelta/suelto* format, with series numbers, long after they were composed: for example, the Barcelona printer Mateo Barceló printed Calderón's *entremés* ('Num. 15') *El desafío de Juan Rana* in 1779, illustrated with a woodblock of the protagonist. Juan Rana was the stage name of the famous comedian Cosme Pérez, whose career ran from at least 1621 until his death in 1673. What did his name mean to readers a century later? The woodblock certainly produces a poor likeness, since we know that he was very short and very fat. These *entremeses* might seem the smallest performable pieces, but in the 1680s printers saw a market for even smaller ones: famous soliloquies, or dialogues, which appeared in the *pliego suelto* format, except that they usually consisted of only two quarto leaves (half a sheet) rather than four: the *relaciones de comedias*.

We may wonder what kind of purchasers bought these excerpts, or whole plays, and why. There is evidence that those who bought plays to read were the-atre-goers. More evidence comes from prefaces and the texts themselves: when publishers or authors addressed their readers, they stressed the advantage of having texts to read at leisure, particularly if the readers had not seen them played. The first such preface is from Lope's *Primera parte* of 1604. Sometimes texts provide details to help readers visualise performances. Calderón's editors, or – more likely – the author himself, seem to have been anxious to facilitate readers in this way. At the end of the first edition of *El mayor encanto, amor* (1637, two years after the premiere), the closing stage directions describe the

ending in the past tense, with a reference to stage machinery; these directions are presumably the author's, added for publication. The de luxe *suelta* edition of his *Fieras afemina Amor* (premiered in January 1672) opens with a three-page-long description of the décor, again in the past tense, while there are other shorter ones throughout the text.

That dramatists encouraged readers to imagine their plays on the stage is no surprise. There is also evidence that they conceived of them putting on their own performances. Lope refers, in 1624, to a character buying printed texts for private performance, while in *La noche de San Juan* (1631), the maid encourages her mistress to act a scene from a 'libro de comedias'. In Calderón's *Las manos blancas no ofenden* (1640?), Princess Serafina persuades her courtiers and guests to put on a musical play, although nothing is said about the source of the text. In 1660, Zabaleta's *Día de fiesta por la tarde* describes people amusing themselves on a holiday afternoon. In Chapter 4, 'Los libros', a young woman reads a volume of plays. As she becomes engrossed in a plot, she identifies with the characters and acts out the roles: 'va leyendo, y representando'. By the 1790s, printed plays were advertising themselves as being written for amateur actors performing at home, including children. Soon afterwards, *sueeltas* were being issued with wrappers carrying advertisements. Advertising texts as performable reflects reality: early modern Spain was obsessed with public performance. Anyone with a higher education could have been involved, since classical plays were regularly performed at universities from at least 1530, and in colleges: the Jesuits in particular were noted for school drama, which was often in Latin, but not always.

Other opportunities for performance came at state occasions, religious holidays, academies and *tertulias*. At first, with few professional actors, aristocratic patrons, from the royal family down, either took part themselves, or persuaded their servants. Opportunities multiplied with the accession of Philip IV (1621), the first theatre-patron king. Performances outside the theatres involved ordinary citizens too: Calderón's collaboration play *El privilegio de las mujeres* was performed 'in the house of an artisan' at Christmas 1634.

At *tertulias*, literary gatherings, some participants would recite famous dramatic speeches, which were being printed by the 1680s, probably to facilitate them. At Carnival, amateur performances were often burlesques, involving even Olivares and Velázquez. It seems likely that when the king's humbler subjects wanted to imitate their rulers by putting on plays, they obtained texts by buying editions of them. They had lots of choice: we should remember Fajardo's figures. The number of twelve-play *partes* may be around 150: ostensibly 1800 titles, although some plays were printed several times. But while some texts published in the late eighteenth century were aimed at amateur actors,



the extent of this market a century and a half earlier is guess-work. However, the accounts for royal performances in the seventeenth century show that volumes of plays were bought to provide texts for professionals.

Where plays are concerned, and prints of them, Spain is unusual, for several reasons. First, the tradition of publishing plays collectively and singly begins at the start of Spanish printing. Second, as we have seen, Spain had an unmatched quantity of material to publish. And while they may not be unique, there were three other important factors: first, seeing, reading and acting in plays was very important in early modern Spain. Second, the public theatres sometimes failed to meet the demand for the first of these: puritanical city councils, like those in Seville and Córdoba, closed their theatres for long periods, for supposed moral reasons, while the official mourning prompted by royal deaths also caused closures. These closures surely stimulated the sale of printed texts, sometimes for performance at home.

Finally, what can we learn about dating imprintless editions of classical Spanish theatre texts from examining five collections of them, dating from c. 1630 (Seville), c. 1640 (Seville), 1654? (Madrid), c. 1680 (Seville) and c. 1700 (Madrid), a total of 83 items? We are on safest ground with serial numbers, which are found only in the last collection. Equally reliable, apparently, is the use of smaller type in parts of a text, to make it fit fewer pages: again, found only in the last collection. Pica was the standard text-type until smaller sizes were introduced in Seville in the 1670s. The use of J and U reached Seville in the 1670s, Madrid in the 1680s, and is found only in the last two groups. While quarto in eights was normal for collected volumes well into the eighteenth century, the last *suelta* group to have this format is '1654?'. Even so, the second group (Seville) has no examples. Characteristics of early prints include the name of the company-manager who performed the play, found only in group one, and the signing of 'extra' leaves, not found in the last two groups, with the exception of one item in group four, an item which is probably as early as c. 1650. Less than completely helpful is page numbering: foliation is commonest in the first group (13/21), but absent in all the others except the last (4/12). However, the presence of 'Fol.1' on the first page is confined to group 1, where nine of the thirteen foliated items have this feature. Only one of the 83 items (group 4) is paginated, which certainly increases the odds against a paginated *suelta* being early. The range in style of running headlines is not helpful: in all, 28% of the 83 items use roman type. They are commonest in the first and third groups, but only at 33%, while even the last group has one example.

The fonts used are the way to identify printers and dates, but occasionally they can be used to provide *termini a quo*: for example, *sueeltas* which use any of the designs cut by Pedro Disses must be later than 1685. Sometimes, too,

certain designs can be linked to particular cities, and so to a small number of printers. Swash italics are usually early.

The *comedia suelta* was invented only thirty years after printing got to Spain, but it took off around 1625, and lasted another two centuries. The period 1601–1650 saw another crucial invention, the numbered series of collections of plays; some of these had plays by a single author, while others were anthologies by different authors. It is no accident that this period is the most productive half-century in Spanish drama. The relationship between the playwrights, the actors, the printers and their publics is a complex one, but a complete short-title catalogue will go a long way towards helping us to understand it.

## Cervantes's *Ocho comedias*: From the Pen to the Print-Shop

John O'Neill

It so happened that, while going down a street, Don Quixote raised his eyes and saw, written above a door, in very big letters, 'Books Printed Here', which pleased him no end, because he had never seen a printing-house before and wanted to know what one was like. He went inside, with all his entourage, and saw them pulling the press in one place, correcting in another, typesetting here and emending there: in short, all the operations that take place in a big printing-house.<sup>1</sup>

As Chartier has pointed out, the above passage, from Chapter 62 of the second part of the *Quijote*, mentions all the key stages of the print process: composition, operation of the press, correction of proofs, and enmendation.<sup>2</sup> It is clear, therefore, that Cervantes, unlike his protagonist, was very familiar with the environment of a print-shop and what went on there. Chartier supports Rico's view that the print-shop in question was that of Sebastián de Cormellas in Barcelona, where the action takes place, but suggests that the description was based on Cervantes's knowledge of the Madrid printing-house where the *Segunda parte* was produced, which went by the name of Juan de la Cuesta, but which was actually owned by María Rodríguez de Ribalde.<sup>3</sup> However, the picture that Cervantes had in his mind when writing this passage is just as likely to have been of the premises of Francisca Medina, known as 'la viuda de Alonso Martín', where *Ocho comedias, y ocho entremeses nuevos, nunca representados* was printed, for production of the volume of plays, which began in late July 1615 and was finished by 22 September, overlapped with that of the

1 Miguel de Cervantes, *Don Quijote de La Mancha*, ed. Instituto Cervantes, dir. Francisco Rico (Barcelona: Galaxia Gutenberg/Círculo de Lectores; Centro para la Edición de los Clásicos Españoles, 2004), 1247–1248. All translations are my own.

2 Roger Chartier, *Inscription and erasure: literature and written culture from the eleventh to the eighteenth century*, trans. Arthur Goldhammer (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007), 29.

3 Chartier, *Inscription and erasure*, 38–39. Juan Delgado Casado, *Diccionario de impresores españoles (siglos XV–XVII)*, 2 vols (Madrid: Arco/Libros, 1996), 1.175.

*Segunda parte*, which took place some time between the end of March and 21 October.<sup>4</sup> Medina had also printed, in the autumn of 1614, *Viaje del Parnaso* (USTC 5000596), and since Cervantes financed that book himself he would undoubtedly have had to visit her shop on several occasions. It was situated in Calle de los Preciados, a little further away than the La Cuesta printing-house in Calle de Atocha, but still just a ten-minute walk from where he was living at the time, on the corner of Calle de León and Calle de Francos, now known as Calle de Cervantes.<sup>5</sup> This essay describes an attempt to reconstruct the process of production of *Ocho comedias*, from the autograph copy to the printed volume, based on what is generally known about book production in early modern Spain and on the evidence provided by several copies of the first edition. The episode of Don Quixote in the print-shop suggests that Cervantes had an in-depth knowledge of book production. The purpose of this study was firstly to try to establish how closely involved he actually was in that process, in matters such as spelling, punctuation, layout and the proofing of the text, and then to consider the implications of those findings for the modern editor.

Some scholars have constructed editorial theories based on the assumption that Cervantes's autograph would have been used by the printers as their copy text. Eisenberg, for example, makes the following statement:

That the accidentals have been altered by the compositors is not, in my judgement, a justification for their modernisation, nor is their irregularity grounds for regularisation. They still reflect *something* of Cervantes's practice even if it is not always clear just what, and the alteration was executed by Golden Age workers, with Cervantes's manuscript before them.<sup>6</sup>

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4 Miguel de Cervantes, *Ocho comedias, y ocho entremeses nuevos, Nunca representados* (Madrid: La viuda de Alonso Martín, 1615) (USTC 5038935). *Segunda parte del ingenioso cauallero Don Quixote de la Mancha* (Madrid: Juan de la Cuesta, 1615; Alicante: Biblioteca Virtual Miguel de Cervantes/Madrid: Biblioteca Nacional, 2003), <http://bib.cervantesvirtual.com/FichaObra.html?Ref=4942&portal=40>.

5 Jaime Moll, 'Viuda de Alonso Martín', in *Gran Enciclopedia Cervantina*, ed. Carlos Alvar, 10 vols (Madrid: Castalia, 2005-), 8.7639. Jaime Moll, 'Juan de la Cuesta', in *Gran Enciclopedia Cervantina*, 3.3020. Howard Mancing, *The Cervantes Encyclopedia*, 2 vols (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 2004), 1.95.

6 Daniel Eisenberg, 'On Editing Don Quixote', *Bulletin of the Cervantes Society of America* 3, no. 1 (1983): 3-34 (p. 11).

Flores makes similar claims.<sup>7</sup> Printers did not, however, work from the author's autograph copy, but from an *original de imprenta*, which was a clean copy of the autograph, produced by a professional amanuensis, and which, as Garza Merino points out, was only rarely the work of the author.<sup>8</sup> The ideal *original* needed to be clear and legible, with the script of uniform size, the same number of lines on each page and appropriate margins.<sup>9</sup> Indeed, it is entirely logical that this is what would be required, since everything was geared towards making the printing process run more smoothly, and that would obviously be easier if the printers were working from an *original* rather than a scruffy autograph.

Once the *original de imprenta* had been produced the author's manuscript served no purpose and was generally disposed of. There are, therefore, no surviving autograph copies of Cervantes's works. There are, however, a few examples of his handwriting, the characteristics of which allow us to make certain assumptions about what his manuscripts might have looked like. What is notable about these examples is the almost complete absence of punctuation. There are no commas, colons, semicolons or accents, and while he does occasionally write a full stop, his use of that sign is often inappropriate.<sup>10</sup> In this respect, according to a contemporary account by the printer Andrés de Angulo, he was typical of his time: 'It would be a miracle if the authors brought along originals that were well-corrected, with proper spelling and punctuation, because few of them, even though they may be extremely literate, understand anything about that.'<sup>11</sup> Cervantes was not, therefore, alone amongst Golden Age writers in failing to punctuate what he wrote. Originals of Calderón de la Barca's *La humildad coronada*, prepared for the printer by the author himself, show an almost complete absence of punctuation, and the few markings they

7 Robert M. Flores, *The Compositors of the First and Second Madrid Editions of Don Quixote, Part 1*. (London: Modern Humanities Research Research Association, 1975), 5.

8 Sonia Garza Merino, 'La cuenta del original', in *Imprenta y crítica textual en el Siglo de Oro*, ed. Francisco Rico, Pablo Andrés, and Sonia Garza (Valladolid: Universidad de Valladolid, Centro para la Edición de los Clásicos Españoles, 2000), 65–95 (p. 65).

9 Garza Merino, 'La cuenta del original', 65.

10 Francisco Rico, *El texto del "Quijote": preliminares a una ecdótica del Siglo de Oro* (Barcelona: Ediciones Destino, 2005), 161–164.

11 Julián Martín Abad, 'Alcalá de Henares, 1547–1616: Talleres de imprenta y mercaderes de libros', in *Cervantes y Alcalá de Henares* (Alcalá de Henares: Centro de Estudios Cervantinos, 1997), 3–9 (p. 5), quoted in Trevor J. Dadson, 'La corrección de pruebas (y un libro de poesía)', in *Imprenta y crítica textual en el Siglo de Oro*, ed. Francisco Rico, Pablo Andrés, and Sonia Garza (Valladolid: Universidad de Valladolid, Centro para la Edición de

do carry are not always reliable.<sup>12</sup> What is significant in Angulo's statement is that the ability to punctuate 'como conviene' is not regarded as a skill that would be expected of men of letters like Cervantes. That should not surprise us, for there was no clear system of punctuation in Spain in the sixteenth century, when Cervantes was educated. Writers of contemporary manuals on writing and spelling tended to defer to printers on such matters. The renowned Basque calligrapher Juan de Yciar, author of *Orthographia pratica*, published in 1548, the year after Cervantes's birth, writes: 'The best thing in such matters, is to have recourse to the printers, who are entrusted with the primary responsibility for ensuring that the manuscript is correctly punctuated. For since there are no other rules, if we follow them, any mistakes we make should, by rights, be forgiven'.<sup>13</sup> Antonio de Torquemada, author of the *Manual de escribientes*, which appeared in 1552, elaborates on the subject, recognizing that printers have more cause to be concerned with punctuation, since they are involved in mass-production: 'Those who set type and read it punctuate better, having more reason to be proficient in such matters than those who write with their own hand, since they have to emend and punctuate an original in order to print two thousand copies'.<sup>14</sup> The repercussions for the modern editor of Golden Age texts have been summarized by Arellano: 'In practice this means that we will never have at our disposal the author's system [of punctuation], among other reasons because Golden Age authors do not have a system'.<sup>15</sup> It may, therefore, be safely concluded that Cervantes's autograph copy of *Ocho comedias* would have been sparsely punctuated, and that what punctuation it did contain would have been haphazard and unsystematic.

Because of the necessity of producing an *original de imprenta* the first significant intermediary between the author's pen and the printed page was the

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los Clásicos Españoles, 2000), 97–128 (p.104). Spelling, punctuation and capitalization of quotations from early editions is as found in the original, with the following exceptions: 'ss' has been substituted for the long 's', and where 'u' stands for 'v' (e.g. escriuen) and vice-versa (e.g. vno) this has been regularized.

12 Ignacio Arellano, "La puntuación en los textos del Siglo de Oro y en el Quijote", *Anales Cervantinos*, 42 (2010): 15–32 (p. 20).

13 Juan de Yciar, *Recopilacion subtilissima: intitulada Orthographia pratica: por lo qual se enseña a escrevir perfectamente: ansi por pratica como por geometria todas las suertes de letras que mas en nuestra España y fuera della se usan* (Zaragoza: Bartholome de Nagera, 1548) (USTC 339195), iv.

14 Antonio de Torquemada, ed. Maria Josefa C. de Zamora and Alonso Zamora Vicente, *Manual de escribientes* (Madrid: Imprenta Aguirre, 1970), 116.

15 Arellano, 'La puntuación', 20.

scribe, who, according to what Hornschuch writes in his corrector's manual of 1608, was more concerned with making money than with orthographic consistency.<sup>16</sup> The portrait of the *escribano* that Rico draws is of someone who was typically not particularly well-educated, but with illusions of grandeur, and with a tendency to amend the text as well as introduce errors.<sup>17</sup> This view is amusingly supported by the rather sheepish apology, entitled 'How orthography is corrupted in transcriptions or copies' carried by Torquemada's *Manual de escribientes*:

I also beg those who see or read this little work not to blame me, as they justifiably could, for the poor spelling and punctuation. Having written a treatise that gives rules and precepts about such matters, I was under a greater obligation than anyone else to follow them and keep to them, and the reason that I did not is because it was transcribed from the original by a Basque scribe, who was not as attentive as he should have been in writing what was required. It was not possible to correct it afterwards, since that would have involved much crossing out in the book, and therefore the task has been left for a new edition.<sup>18</sup>

Some of the errors in editions of *Don Quijote* can be traced to difficulties that the scribe had in deciphering the author's hand. As Rico points out, readings such as *leyó* for *hizó* and *mayorcas* for *mazorcas* can be explained by Cervantes's tendency to write his 'z' and 'y' in similar fashion.<sup>19</sup> There is an example (see Fig. 9.1) of a similar misreading in Act III of *La entretenida*, which is retained in the Schevill/Bonilla and Sevilla/Rey editions, in spite of the fact that the correct expression, 'salir a plaza', is used by Dorotea later in the same act, on the first line of folio 189r.<sup>20</sup>

Once the scribe had completed the preparation of the *original* it would be returned to the author for revision and correction, the extent of which could range from the suppression of individual words or phrases to the rewriting of

16 Hieronymus Hornschuch, ed. Philip Gaskell and Patricia Bradford, *Orthotypographia* (Cambridge: University Library, 1972), 22.

17 Rico, *El texto del "Quijote"*, 68–69.

18 Torquemada, *Manual de escribientes*, 64–65.

19 Rico, *El texto del Quijote*, 107–110. Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra, *El ingenioso hidalgo don Quixote de la Mancha*, (Madrid: Juan de la Cuesta, 1605; Alicante: Biblioteca Virtual Miguel de Cervantes, 2001), 180r, <http://bib.cervantesvirtual.com/FichaObra.html?Ref=4944&portal=40>. *Segunda parte*, 34r.

20 *La entretenida*, ed. Rodolfo Schevill y Adolfo Bonilla y San Martín (Alicante: Biblioteca Virtual Miguel de Cervantes, 2003), Act III, l. 222, <http://bib.cervantesvirtual.com/>

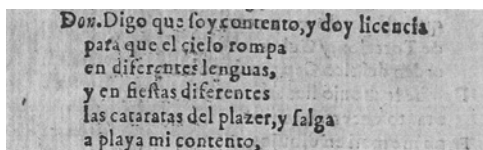


FIGURE 9.1 Part of folio 186v of *Ocho comedias*.<sup>21</sup>

entire chapters.<sup>22</sup> Whereas an author would have very little time to correct page proofs, he could revise the *original* at his leisure, and as a result there would generally be more differences between the autograph and the *original* than between the *original* and the printed volume.<sup>23</sup> After the revision of the original was completed it had to be submitted to the *Consejo* in order to obtain the necessary clearance by the censor, the *aprobación*.<sup>24</sup> The *Consejo* was also responsible for granting the rights to publication (the *privilegio*) for a limited period, which was ten years in the case of *Ocho comedias*. These rights were granted to Cervantes, but were then sold to the twenty-five year old bookseller Juan de Villarroel. His career in publishing was short-lived, for his name is associated with only three other books: reprints of Juan Pérez de Moya's *Arithmetica Practica* and Fernando de Mena's translation of Heliodorus's *Historia etiopica de los amores de Teogenes y Cariclea*, both of which also appeared in 1615 and were printed at Medina's shop, and Cervantes's *Persiles y Sigismunda*, which was published posthumously in 1617 and printed by Juan de la Cuesta.<sup>25</sup> Cervantes probably sold the *privilegio* to this newcomer to the trade because, as he states in the prologue to *Ocho comedias*, he could not interest a more established bookseller in his plays: 'At the time a bookseller informed me that he would have bought

FichaObra.html?Ref=8691&portal=40. *La entretenida*/Pedro de Urdemalas, ed. Florencio Sevilla Arroyo and Antonio Rey Hazas (Madrid: Alianza, 1998), 105. *La entretenida*, ed. John O'Neill (London: King's College London, 2013), 189r, (Text > 1st edition [facsimile]) <http://entretendida.outofthewings.org/index.html>.

21 The Warden and Fellows of All Souls College, Oxford have kindly granted permission for the reproduction of this image, and those in Figs. 9.4, 9.5, 9.8, 9.9, 9.10 and 9.11, which are taken from the copy of *Ocho comedias, y ocho entremeses nuevos, Nunca representados* (Madrid: La viuda de Alonso Martín, 1615) (USTC 5038935), held at The Bodleian Library (shelfmark nn.7.3).

22 Garza Merino, 'La cuenta del original', 66.

23 Rico, *El texto del "Quijote"*, 56.

24 Garza Merino, 'La cuenta del original', 66.

25 *Arithmetica Practica y Speculativa* (Madrid: La viuda de Alonso Martín, 1615) (USTC 5008958). *Historia etiopica de los amores de Teogenes y Cariclea* (Madrid: La viuda de Alonso Martín, 1615) (USTC 5009294).



them, had an actor-manager of some note not told him that much could be expected of my prose, but of my verse nothing.' The lack of faith in the commercial possibilities of Cervantes's plays shown by this unnamed bookseller – probably Francisco de Robles, who published both parts of the *Quijote* and the *Novelas ejemplares* – was in all likelihood well-founded, for Villarroel clearly did not make enough money from early sales of *Ocho comedias* to extricate him from his financial difficulties. On the 6 November 1615 he still owed 1500 *reales* to Medina for the cost of printing both the *Arithmetica* and the volume of plays.<sup>26</sup>

After the original had been signed off by the *Consejo*, planning of the edition could begin. One of the first tasks was to come to an agreement about the general characteristics of the book, such as format, layout and typeface. *Ocho comedias* was printed in a format known as *cuarto conjugado* (quarto in eights), the most common one in the latter part of the sixteenth and early part of the seventeenth centuries. Of the fourteen books produced at Medina's print-shop in 1615 eight were in quarto.<sup>27</sup> In this method of production, each sheet, containing eight pages of the printed edition, was folded twice and placed inside another, producing a *gathering* of sixteen pages (see Figs. 9.2 and 9.3).

Regarding layout and typeface, Garza Merino claims that, where the author had sold the *privilegio*, as was the case with *Ocho comedias*, he would have delegated responsibility in such matters to the bookseller and the print-shop.<sup>28</sup> However, another study has found that decisions on these issues may in some cases have been influenced by the author.<sup>29</sup> In order to shed more light on the subject, the layout of *Ocho comedias* was compared with that of two other collections of plays printed in the same shop: *Obras trágicas y líricas* by the poet and playwright Cristóbal de Virués, a friend of Cervantes, published by Esteban Bogia and produced in 1609, when Alonso Martín was still alive; and the *Sexta parte* of Lope's *Comedias*, published in April 1615, five months before *Ocho comedias*.<sup>30</sup>

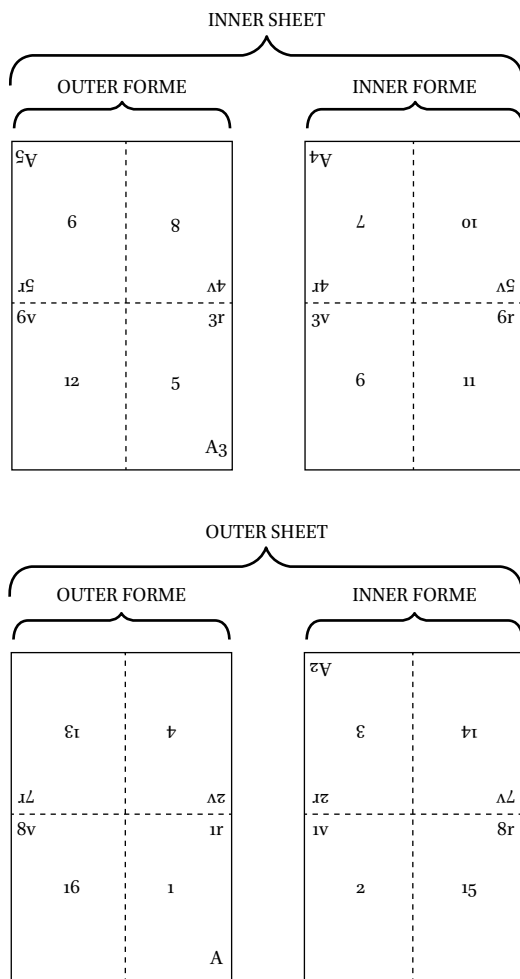
26 K. Sliwa, *Documentos de Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra* (Pamplona: Ediciones Universidad de Navarra, S.A., 1999), 369.

27 Cristobál Pérez Pastor, *Bibliografía madrileña, ó descripción de las obras impresas en Madrid*, 3 vols (Madrid: Tipografía de los Huérfanos/Tipografía de la «Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos», 1891–1907), 2:324–72.

28 Garza Merino, 'La cuenta del original', 66.

29 Pablo Andrés Escapa, Elena Delgado Pascual, Arantxa Domingo Malvadi, José Luis Rodríguez Montederramo, *Real Biblioteca*, Madrid, 'El original de imprenta', in *Imprenta y crítica textual*, 29–64 (p. 35).

30 Cristobal de Virués, *Obras trágicas y líricas del capitán Cristoval de Virués* (Madrid: Alonso Martín, 1609) (USTC 501117). Lope de Vega Carpio, *Sexta parte de sus comedias* (Madrid: La viuda de Alonso Martin de Balboa, 1615) (USTC 5025589).



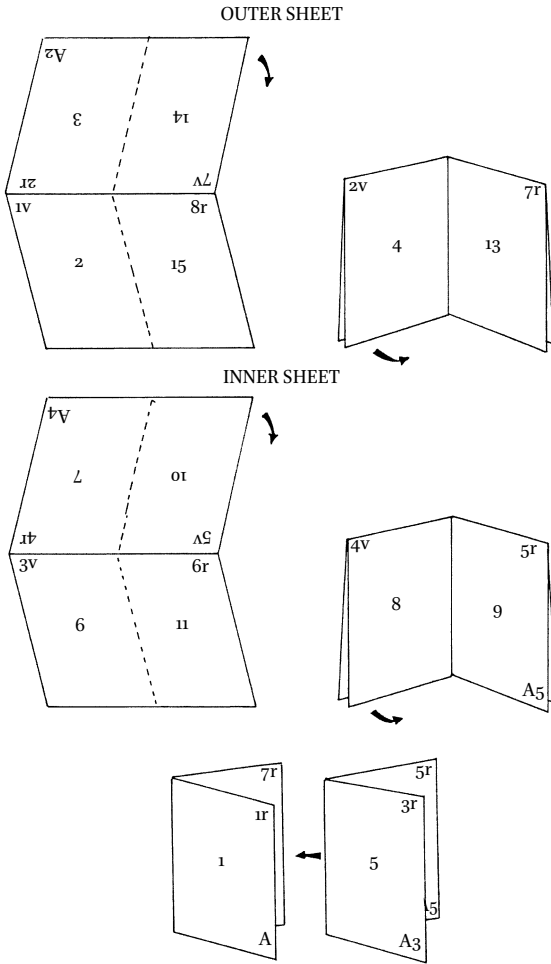


FIGURE 9.3 *How a gathering is made.*

- The first letter of the first line of each new stanza is set in capitals, irrespective of whether it is preceded by a full stop (see Fig. 9.4, right hand column, second stanza).
- Generally, when speeches are shared by different characters, they are not written on separate lines (see Fig. 9.4, right hand column, l. 17). However, shared speeches are set on different lines for typographical reasons, when to do otherwise would exceed the available column width (see Fig. 9.5).
- Stage directions are set in italic, centered, and usually separated from the preceding and following text by a space (see Fig. 9.4, Ocaña's entrance).

# *Dela Entretenida.*

178

y pongo el pie en tal orilla.  
 No mi riquezas sobrieron  
 las aguas que las tragaron,  
 pues mas rico me dexaron  
 con el bien q en vos me dió.  
 Oy se aumenta mi riqueza,  
 pues con nueva vida, y fer,  
 peregrino llegò a ver  
 la imagen de tu belleza.

*Entra Ocaña.*

*Oca.* desta comun alegria  
 alguna parte quiza  
 mi tristeza alcançara,  
 que està como estar solia.  
*Desde* aqui quiero mirarte,  
 si es que te dexas mirar,  
 de mi suerte amargo azar,  
 de mi bien el todo y parte.  
*Puesto* en aqueste rincon,  
 como lacayo sin suerte,  
 verè quiza de mi muerte  
 alguna resurreccion.  
*Mar.* la desuatura mayor,  
 mas espantosa, y temida,  
 es la de perder la vida.  
*don.* primero es la del honor.  
*Mar.* Ansi es, y pues vos primo  
 con honra, y vida venis,  
 mal hareys, si mal sentis  
 del mal que por biè yo estimo.

*To.* pluguiera a Dios que nunca aqui viniera,  
 o ya que vine aqui, que nunca amara,  
 o ya que amè, que amor se me mostrara,  
 de azero no, sino de blanda cera.

*Car.* depositario fue el mar  
 de tus cartas y presentes;

Y en llegar adonde os veyes,  
 aueys de tener por cierto,  
 que aueis arribado a vn puerta  
 adonde restaurareys  
 Las riquezas arrojadas  
 al mar, siempre codicioso.  
*Car.* tendra el que fuere tu esposo  
 las veaturas confirmadas.  
*Torr.* donzella, a caso es de casa?  
*Cri.* no soy sino de la calle.  
*To.* esso no, que aqueffe talle  
 a los de Palacio passa.  
*To.* siue en ella? *Cri.* soy seruida;  
*To.* la respuesta ha sido aguda.  
*Oc.* ten pulchra la lengua muda,  
 no la descosas perdida.  
*To.* el nòbre? *C.* Cristina. *T.* bueno,  
 que es dulce, con ser de rùbo;  
*To.* tumbase? *Cr.* yo no me tumbo,  
 basta que tiene barreno  
 El Indianazo Gálcon.  
*To.* yo, señora, como ves,  
 soy criollo Perules,  
 aunque tiro a Borgoñon.  
*don.* repofareys, primo mio,  
 y despues saber querria  
 del buen estar de mi tia,  
 de vuestro padre, y mi tio.  
*Oc.* o peregrino traydor  
 como la miras, o falsa  
 como le vas dando salsa  
 al gusto de su sabor.

*Oc.* el alma tengo en los dientes;  
 càsi estoy para espirar.

*Z.3 To.*

FIGURE 9.4 Ocho comedias, folio 178r.

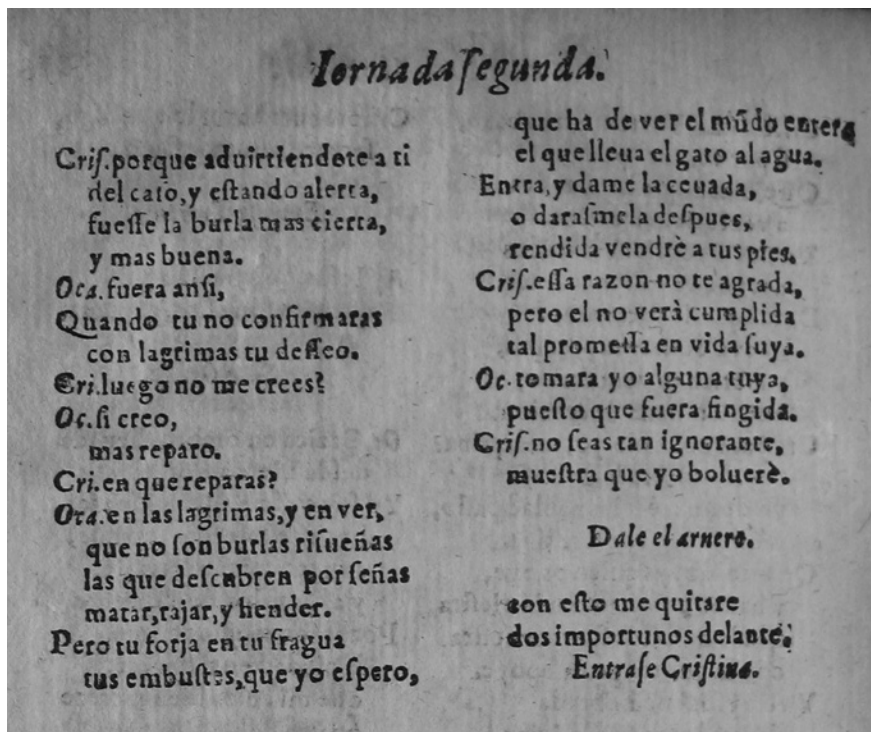


FIGURE 9.5 Part of folio 183v of *Ocho comedias*.

There are frequent errors and inconsistencies. When these are clustered in a particular gathering, as is the case in gathering *Aa*, which contains part of *La entretenida*, they can probably be attributed to the carelessness of one typesetter. For example, in the first column of folio 187r, the *redondillas* at first are not indented and then are, as if the typesetter realized his mistake in the middle of setting.<sup>32</sup> Since he was on piece-work, he would not have even considered correcting what he had already composed. Similarly, the first line of each stanza of the *cuarteto lira* that begins on folio 184v, which is part of gathering *Z*, is indented, but not in the continuation on folios 185r, 185v, 186r and 186v, which are part of gathering *Aa*.<sup>33</sup> The stanzas of the *terceros* that begin with the entrance of Don Silvestre, on folio 190v (again part of

<sup>32</sup> *La entretenida*, ed. O'Neill, 187r.

<sup>33</sup> *La entretenida*, ed. O'Neill, 185r–186v.

gathering *Aa*), are also not indented, in contrast with those in the following gathering *Bb*, on folio 197r of *Pedro de Urdemalas*, after the entrance of Martín Crespo.<sup>34</sup> Other examples from *La entretenida* reveal confusion about the setting of the *romance* form, which on two occasions (171v and 190r) is set with every fourth line indented and the first letter in capitals, and in every other occurrence (172r, 177r, 177v, 189r, 189v, 190v, 191v, 192r) is not differentiated in any way.<sup>35</sup>

Comparison with the two other volumes examined reveals significant differences. In *Obras trágicas y líricas* the speaker names are abbreviated but not embedded, except in cases of shared lines, and a normal indent instead of a hanging indent is employed (see Fig. 9.6), while in the *Sexta parte* the beginning of each stanza is indicated by a capital but not by indentation, which makes it more difficult to recognize the verse form (see Fig. 9.7). These differences would seem to indicate that the layout of the verse was not a matter of house style on the part of the printer, in which case it must have been decided by either the author or the bookseller, or agreed between the two of them.

While it is difficult to determine the precise extent of author involvement with regard to the general characteristics of the edition, what is much more certain, according to at least two studies, is that most writers of the period left decisions about orthography and punctuation to the printer and

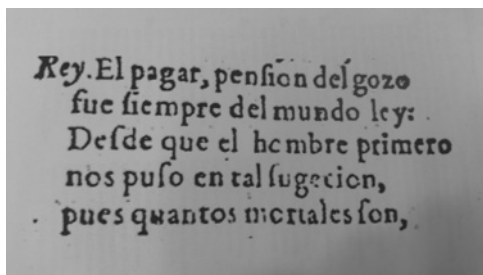


FIGURE 9.6 Part of folio 993 of *Obras trágicas y líricas*.<sup>36</sup>

34 *Pedro de Urdemalas* (Alicante: Biblioteca Virtual Miguel de Cervantes, 2001), 197r.

35 *La entretenida*, ed. O'Neill, 171v–172r, 177r–177v, and 189r–192r.

36 © The British Library Board C.63.a.33. Reproduced by permission.

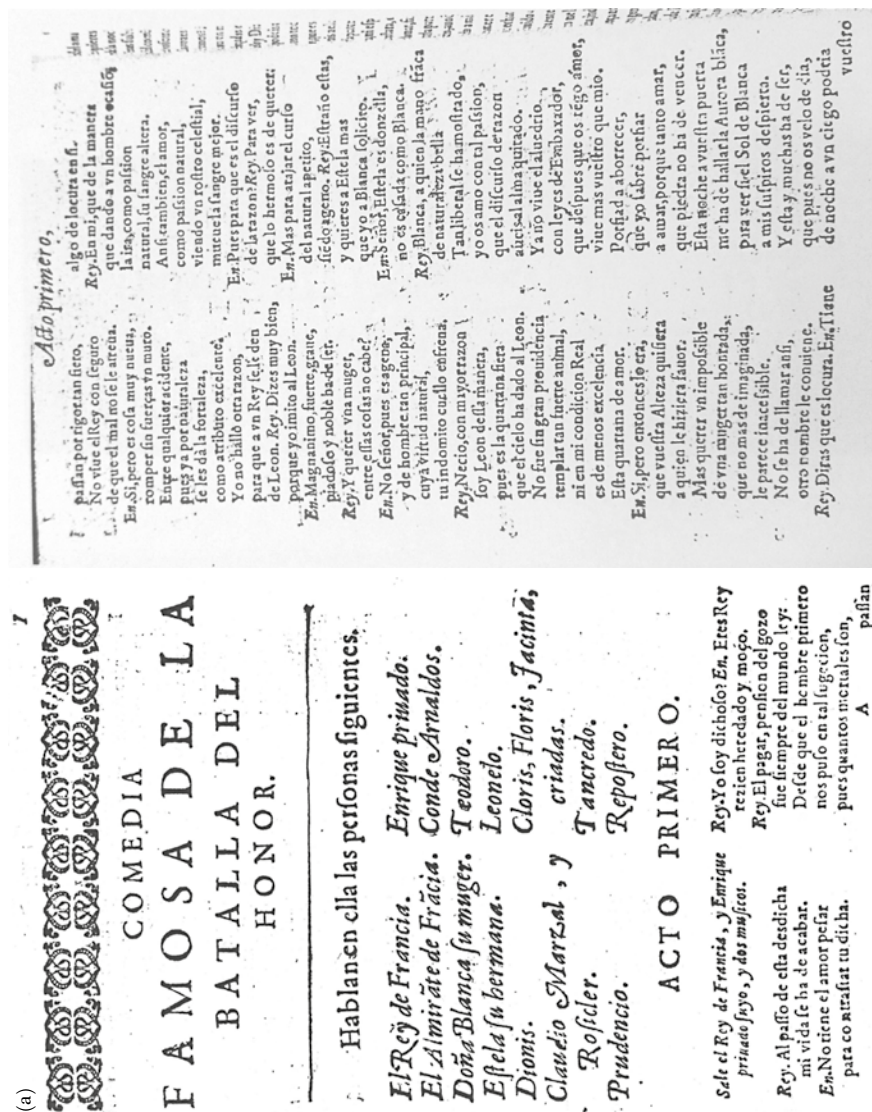


FIGURE 9.7 A-B *From folios 1r and 1v of Lope's 'Sexta parte'.<sup>37</sup>*

publisher.<sup>38</sup> This was not, however, always the case, as is revealed by the disclaimer contained in the front matter of the *Obras trágicas y líricas*, which states that ‘spelling and punctuation is as requested by the author, and not in

37 © The British Library Board, 11726 k.g. Reproduced by permission.

38 Rico, *El texto del "Quijote"*, 77–78 and 154. Escapa et al., 'El original del imprenta', 39–40.

the usual style of the printing-house'.<sup>39</sup> Virués's intervention was clearly exceptional. Whether Cervantes would have had strong feelings in the matter is unlikely, since, as Rico mentions, autograph documents have shown that he was quite cavalier in his spelling habits, writing, for example, *ansi*, *assi* and *asi*, and both *mesmo* and *mismo*.<sup>40</sup> Rico goes on to make the point that someone who signed himself *Cerbantes*, but whose books show his name as *Ceruantes* would not have been bothered if the printer converted *reciuir* and *recibir* to *recebir*.

Printers were not necessarily any more consistent than authors in orthographical matters, as *Ocho comedias* reveals. For example, in gathering Z of *La entretenida*, which incorporates most of Act II, there are five incidences of *acaso* and one of *a caso*, while in the following gathering Aa, there are five examples of *acaso* and none of *a caso*. There are also variations in the use of *mismo/mesmo*, *vuestra/vuesa/vuessa*, *efecto/efeto*, *ygual/igual*, and *vozes/bozes*. It is tempting to attribute such inconsistency to the personal preferences of individual typesetters. However, in many of these cases the choice of one or the other spelling has spatial implications, so it is equally possible that the typesetter was motivated primarily by the desire to expand or contract the line in order to improve the layout. Availability of type may also have been a factor. The incidence of spelling variants raises interesting questions about the production process. If, as Garza Merino suggests, part of the planning of the job was to regularize orthography, why is there such inconsistency with regard to spelling?<sup>41</sup> If the inconsistency is due to the typesetters, why was it not picked up at the proofing stage, and does the fact that it was not tell us anything about the efficiency with which the text was checked, or did it result from a tendency to prioritize layout over orthographic consistency?

The person responsible for regularizing punctuation and spelling, as well as supervising the proofing of the printed copy was the corrector, who, like the amanuensis, was another potentially significant editor of the text. In his *Apologia de la imprenta* of 1619, Gonzalo de Ayala, corrector in the Madrid printing-house of Luis Sánchez, states that a corrector should know grammar, spelling, etymology, punctuation, and accentuation, and be familiar with the subject

39 Virués, *Obras tragicas y liricas*, ¶18v.

40 Rico, *El texto del "Quijote"*, 160–201.

41 Garza Merino, 'La cuenta del original', 66.



matter of the book being printed.<sup>42</sup> Paredes, in a manual from 1680, describes four types of corrector:

- 1 Well-educated but with no experience of printing.
- 2 A printer, conversant with Latin and well-read in history and other kinds of books. This type is most suitable for the task.
- 3 An experienced typesetter who does not know Latin, but who can consult the author if needs be.
- 4 The barely literate, appointed when the owner of the print-shop is not a printer but a bookseller, or widow, or person who does not understand the business.<sup>43</sup>

In which of these categories can one place the corrector of *Ocho comedias*? Notwithstanding the numerous errors in layout referred to above, most of which can be attributed to the carelessness of individuals, the edition shows typographical skill, and is generally accurate with regard to the words themselves – the ‘substantives’, as they are often referred to by bibliographers. One can therefore probably discount the involvement of either the first or last category of corrector in the production of the volume. In spite of Paredes’s chauvinistic comment about widows, it is clear that Francisca Medina either knew the business well enough herself, or had the services of a good manager, for she managed to significantly increase productivity after her husband died. Moreover, her print-shop had a solid enough reputation to be entrusted by various bookseller-publishers with several prestigious commissions, including Lope’s *Sexta parte* and the reprint, in 1622, of Montemayor’s *Diana*. Whether it is possible to fit the corrector of *Ocho comedias* into either the second or third categories described by Paredes is more problematic, and can perhaps best be determined by examining the manner in which he carried out his duties, the first of which was to punctuate the text.

Unlike authors, printers were expected to know about punctuation. Indeed, during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries printers were in the vanguard of thinking on such matters and were themselves the writers of treatises. The

42 Víctor Infantes, ‘La apología de la imprenta de Gonzalo de Ayala: un texto desconocido en un pleito de impresores del Siglo de Oro’, *Cuadernos Bibliográficos*, 24 (1982): 33–47 (p. 39).

43 Alonso Victor de Paredes, ed. Jaime Moll, *Institución y origen del arte de la imprenta y reglas generales para los componedores* (Madrid: El Crotalón, 1984), 42r–42v.

first of these was Aldo Manuzio *il Giovane*, the head of a prestigious printing-house, who came from a family of printers, and was a professor at the universities of Bologna, Pisa and Rome.<sup>44</sup> Other important printer-theorists who came after Manuzio were Guillermo Foquel and Felipe Mey, both of whom were to influence Paredes.<sup>45</sup> Their writings, although they indicate the beginning of a more convergent approach to punctuation, are nevertheless marked by important differences, not only with regard to the number of signs used and their names, but in the significance of those signs. The exclamation mark is not included in the systems of either Foquel or Manuzio, but is referred to by Mey, who had possibly been influenced in this matter by Juan López de Velasco, a humanist who appears to have been the first Spanish punctuation theorist to introduce the sign.<sup>46</sup> The semicolon is another sign not recognized by Foquel. The difference between its meaning and that of the colon was a particularly grey area, which probably explains why the semicolon was so late in being introduced into the printing-houses. It is not, for example, used at all in the first part of *Don Quijote*, but does occur in the second part, mostly at the expense of the colon.<sup>47</sup> Since both volumes were printed by Juan de la Cuesta, this inconsistency is a good illustration of the state of flux in which the practice of punctuation, as well as the theory, existed at the beginning of the seventeenth century, and also provides further evidence, if any were needed, of Cervantes's lack of involvement in such issues.

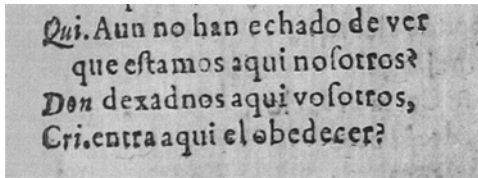
The corrector of a Golden Age text did have certain guidelines to follow, but they were by no means clear, and the punctuation of *Ocho comedias* reflects this lack of consistency. The repertoire of signs used by Francisca Medina's print-shop in *Ocho comedias* seems to closely resemble the one employed by Juan de la Cuesta at the time of the publication of the first part of *Don Quijote*, involving six symbols: comma, colon, full stop, parenthesis, question mark and exclamation mark. On several occasions a question mark appears to have been used to express surprise, or for emphasis, even though the exclamation mark is used elsewhere for that purpose. Two examples can be found on folio 170r of *La entretenida* (see Fig. 9.8), after Don Antonio and Marcela have carried on a conversation oblivious to the presence of the servants Quiñones and Cristina.

44 Fidel Sebastián Mediavilla, *Puntuación, humanismo e imprenta en el Siglo de Oro* (Vigo: Editorial Academia del Hispanismo, 2007), 36–37.

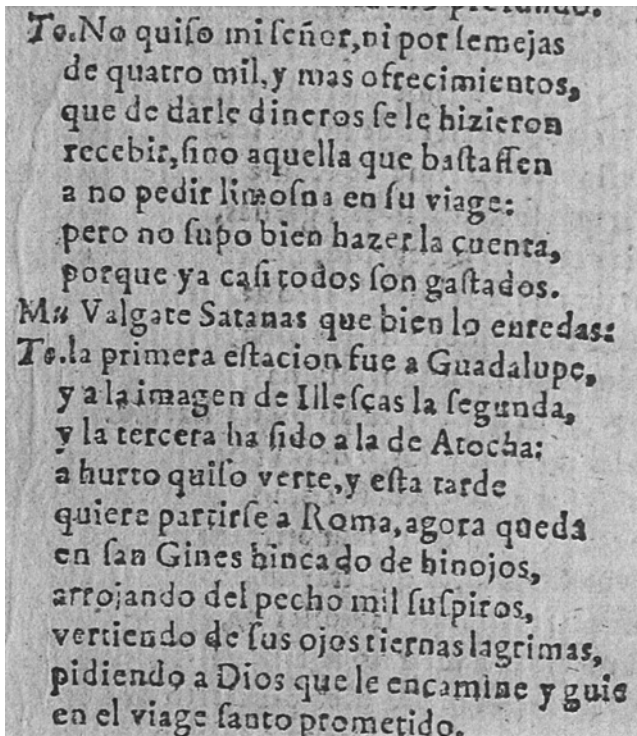
45 Mediavilla, *Puntuación, humanismo e imprenta*, 44–47.

46 Mediavilla, *Puntuación, humanismo e imprenta*, 41.

47 Fidel Sebastián Mediavilla, *La puntuación del Quijote (1605 y 1615)* (Vigo: Editorial Academia del Hispanismo, 2008), 149.

FIGURE 9.8 *Part of fol. 170r.*

This particular inconsistency can be explained by the influence on printing-house practice of different theorists, some of whom, like Manuzio, used the question mark to express surprise, while others, like Mey, used the exclamation mark. The colon, the function of which had never been clearly established in punctuation theory, is used in *Ocho comedias* in several different ways, three of which can be seen on folio 175v (Fig. 9.9): after 'viage', where one would normally expect a comma; after the exclamation 'Valgate Satanas que bien lo enredas'; and at the end of the sentence that finishes with 'Atocha'. The confusion over the use of this sign cannot, therefore, be attributed to individual typesetter preference.

FIGURE 9.9 *Part of fol. 175v.*

The writings of early Golden Age theorists of orthography like Yciar reflected the fact that since ancient times the primary purpose of punctuation had been rhetorical – to indicate when the speaker was to pause, and for how long: ‘Since writing is nothing more than arguing one’s case and talking to those who are absent, one finds in it the same pauses and gaps, indicated by different types of lines and points.’<sup>48</sup> However, printers who later wrote treatises on the subject, such as Felipe Mey, began to establish rules of punctuation that were purely mechanical, recommending, for example, that a comma should be always be placed before the conjunctions *y* and *o*. This practice is fairly consistently observed in *Ocho comedias*. A comma is likewise nearly always placed before *ni*. *Pero* and *porque* are also generally preceded by a punctuation mark, usually a comma, but sometimes a full stop, question mark or colon.

There is, therefore, evidence of the application of something approaching a house style in matters of punctuation by the person who fulfilled the role of corrector at Francisca Medina’s print-shop. The corrector’s job, however, was not simply to ensure that the text was punctuated according to certain conventions. According to Paredes, he also needed to know enough about the subject matter, whether that was theology, law, history, astrology or theatre, to be able to understand something of the intentions of the author.<sup>49</sup> This was evidently not the case with *Ocho comedias*, for there are many occasions when it is apparent that whoever has punctuated the text has done so with little understanding of its meaning, as is shown by the following example (Fig. 9.10), from the very first scene of *La entretenida*, in which Ocaña is lecturing the kitchen-maid Cristina about her behaviour:

The capital letters at the beginning of the second, third and fifth stanzas are the result of a convention about layout, referred to above, but the full stops after ‘galan’, ‘muro’, ‘buena’ and ‘condena’ are very obvious errors, which demonstrate a complete failure to disentangle the syntax. The comma after ‘mas’, rather than a full stop, and the lack of a full stop after ‘intentos’ are also difficult to justify. Reading a passage such as this, one inclines to the view that the corrector was of the third, rather than second category, described by Paredes, in other words a senior typesetter, who not only did not ‘know Latin’, but made only a superficial attempt to understand the Spanish text he was marking up. As Gaskell has stated, it was not uncommon for such a person to carry out the duties of the corrector, especially in smaller printing-houses.<sup>50</sup>

48 Yciar, *Orthographia pratica*, iv.

49 Paredes, *Institución*, 43r–43v.

50 Phillip Gaskell, *A New Introduction to Bibliography* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972), 111.

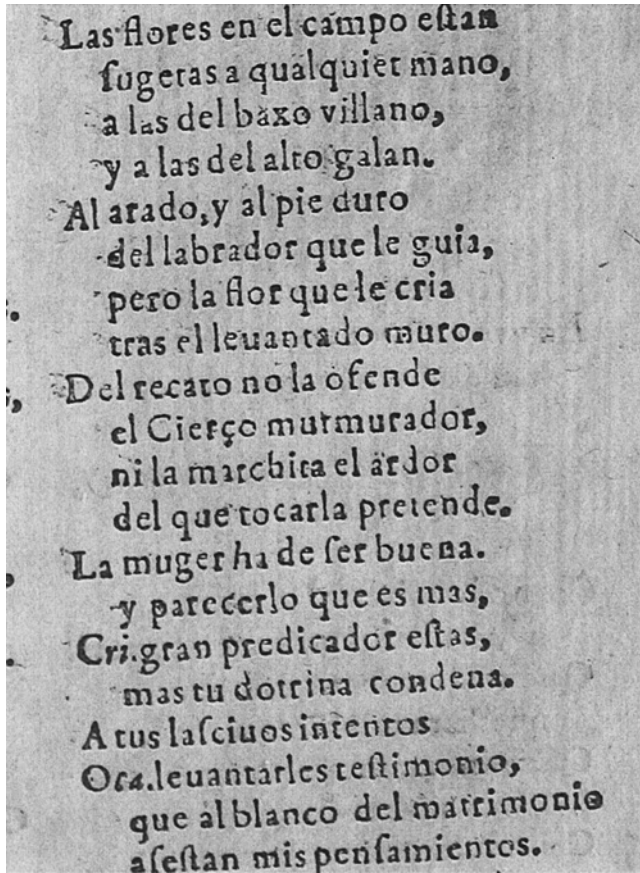


FIGURE 9.10 Part of fol. 169r.

The way *Obras trágicas y líricas* is punctuated is in sharp contrast. As the example from Act II of *Atila* illustrates (see Fig. 9.6), there are significantly less markings, suggesting that Virués adopted a rhetorical, rather than grammatical approach to punctuation. That impression is reinforced if one reads the text aloud. A modern, grammatical approach to the punctuation of this passage would add commas in several places, for example after 'gozo' and 'siento', before and after 'mi Atila', and after 'Flaminia'. This lack of punctuation suggests that Virués's primary aim was to allow the verse to flow, and that, in the service of that objective, the lines were intended to be spoken quite quickly. Virués's approach to orthography, as the aforementioned disclaimer showed, was thus quite different to that of the printer, reflecting not only the modern sense of 'the correct way of writing words', found in *María Moliner*, but also the significant additional nuances of meaning contained in the definition in *Autoridades*: 'The

art that teaches one how to write correctly, and with the punctuation and letters that are required in order to convey the correct meaning when it is read'.<sup>51</sup>

Virués's insistence on retaining control over the way his work was spelled and punctuated, which was exceptional for the time, is a clear indication that he did not believe that the corrector at Medina's print-shop was capable of marking up the text as he wished. One cannot know whether the person in which Virués had such little faith also punctuated *Ocho comedias*, since a period of over six years passed between the publication of the two volumes. It is, on the other hand, a reasonable assumption that the corrector of the *Sexta parte* was the same as for Cervantes's book, since the collection of Lope's plays appeared less than six months before. Examination of the first edition reveals a publication altogether more lavish, printed on thicker, higher quality paper and boasting a particularly impressive title page, in which the italic type is of extremely high quality, and which is adorned by a magnificent decorative stamp, with a picture of a centaur drawing a bow at its centre.

That more money should have been spent on Lope's volume is hardly surprising, given that it was a risk-free venture for a bookseller, unlike *Ocho comedias*. However, closer inspection of the *Sexta parte* shows that the book is more impressive merely from a cosmetic point of view, for the manner in which it is punctuated often reveals the same failure to understand the meaning as is found in Cervantes's book. The dialogue between the King of France and Enrique, his *privado*, taken from the very first page of the play with which the collection begins, *La batalla del honor*, offers several examples of the errors one encounters (see Fig. 9.7). Punctuating the same passage in the following way, according to modern grammatical criteria, allows the meaning to emerge:

Rey. El pagar pension del gozo  
 fue siempre del mundo ley,  
 desde que el hombre primero  
 nos puso en tal sujecion.  
 Pues quantos mortales son  
 pasan por rigor tan fiero,  
 no vive el Rey con seguro  
 de que el mal no se le atreva.  
 En. Si, pero es cosa muy nueva  
 romper sin fuerças un muro

51 María Moliner, *Diccionario de uso del español*, 3rd edn, 2 vols (Madrid: Gredos, 2007), 2.2131. Real Academia Española, *Diccionario de la lengua castellana*, 6 vols (Madrid: Francisco de Hierro, 1726–37); facs. edn, *Diccionario de autoridades*, 3 vols (Madrid: Gredos, 2002), 5.61.

entre qualquier accidente,  
 pues ya por naturaleza  
 se les dà fortaleza  
 como atributo excelente.

Another part of the corrector's duties was to carry out *la cuenta del original*. Printing by *formes* meant that pages were not set consecutively. It was therefore necessary to 'cast off', in other words to calculate the space in the printed edition that would be occupied by parts of the *original* that had not yet been set. Paredes points out that it is easier to count works of poetry than those written in prose, but adds that, in the case of plays, stage directions and shared lines can be a complicating factor:

If one has to count passages of poetry there is no problem, because counting each line of poetry as a line produces the correct figure. The exception are plays, for in this case one has to pay attention to the exits and entrances, and to lines that are spoken by two or three characters, which may occupy two or three lines if they do not fit on one.<sup>52</sup>

One example of the truth of Paredes's observations can be found on folio 183v of *La entretenida* (see Fig. 9.5), where the lack of space makes it necessary to break the house rule of not splitting shared lines, resulting in a very untidy layout.

The pages that needed to be cast off depended on the order in which formes were set, concerning which there is some divergence of opinion. Garza Merino constructs a case, based on her study of evidence of the way an original was counted, that the outer forme of the inner sheet was set first.<sup>53</sup> Cruickshank, on the other hand, argues for an order beginning with the inner forme of the inner sheet, which is what Paredes appears to suggest in his treatise: 'When a book is in quarto, with two sheets to a gathering, the first forme is 6, 7, 10 and 11, in which case the first five are cast off. After composing the two pages that follow 8 and 9 are cast off, so that the forme is finished by composing 10 and 11'.<sup>54</sup> McKenzie, however, in his seminal essay *Printers of the Mind*, shows that, when books are produced by a system of concurrent production, there is no reason

52 Paredes, *Institución*, 36r.

53 Garza Merino, 'La cuenta del original', 81.

54 Don W. Cruickshank, 'The Editing of Spanish Golden Age Plays from Early Printed Versions', in *Editing the Comedia*, ed. Frank P. Casa and Michael D McGaha (Michigan: Michigan Romance Studies, 1985), 52–103 (p. 57). Paredes, *Institución*, 35v. The numbers that

to suppose that any forme or any sheet is printed in a particular order.<sup>55</sup> That same system was in operation in printing-houses in early modern Spain. *Ocho comedias*, for example, was produced concurrently with a book of sermons of one hundred and twelve sheets, also in quarto, and two works in octavo: the *Rhetoricae Compendium ex scriptis patris Ioannis Baptistae Poza* and Alonso de Ledesma's *Romancero y monstro imaginado*, comprising twenty-five and twenty-four sheets respectively.<sup>56</sup> As McKenzie shows, the main aim of concurrent production was to ensure that the presses did not stand idle. Both compositors and pressmen would work on several books simultaneously and there was no advantage to be gained from trying to co-ordinate the labour of typesetters and press-crews, as both Rico and Garza Merino have assumed.<sup>57</sup> The order in which work was carried out in Francisca Medina's print-shop, or any other Madrid print-shop of that time, was thus likely to have been haphazard and improvised, rather than carefully orchestrated.

It has already been demonstrated that Cervantes's autograph was subject to alteration, firstly by the amanuensis, and secondly, and more significantly, by the corrector, whose role could be fulfilled by the senior typesetter. The latter was not, however, the only compositor who may have introduced changes. Rico concluded from his study of the printing of the second and third editions of *Don Quijote* that the typesetters undoubtedly altered the text in order to address problems that arose from over- or underestimates in casting off.<sup>58</sup> In that instance the compositors were working from a *printed* original, which should have made estimates of the amount of space the text would require much more straightforward. An original in manuscript form, such as the

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Paredes refers to are page numbers, which run from 1 to 16 within each gathering, and should not be confused with folio numbers, which run from 1r to 8v. Both sets of numbers, and their relationship to each other, can be seen in Figs. 9.2 and 9.3.

55 Donald Francis McKenzie, Peter D. McDonald & Michael Felix Suarez (eds.), *Making Meaning: "Printers of the Mind" and Other Essays* (Amherst, Mass.: University of Massachusetts Press 2002), 13–85 (p. 46).

56 *Sermones predicados en la Beatificacion de La B.M. Teresa de Jesus Virgen* (Madrid: La viuda de Alonso Martín, 1615) (USTC 5013260); *Rhetoricae Compendium ex scriptis Patris Ioannis Baptistae Poza* (Madrid: La viuda de Alonso Martín, 1615) (USTC 5032413); Alonso de Ledesma, *Romancero y Monstro imaginado* (Madrid: La viuda de Alonso Martín, 1615) (USTC 5025872).

57 McKenzie, *Making Meaning*, 29–30. Rico, *El texto del "Quijote"*, 88. Garza Merino, 'La cuenta del original', 83.

58 Rico, *El texto del "Quijote"*, 192.



one that would have been used in the production of *Ocho comedias*, may have been altered even more significantly.

Once the text had been set by the compositors the process of proofing could begin. The exact number of proofs that were run off was subject to variation. Gaskell identifies three stages in the proofing process. In the initial, and most important, stage a first proof was printed, often followed by a 'revise', the purpose of which was to demonstrate that any errors spotted in the first proof had been rectified. In the second stage, if it occurred, an author's proof and its revise might be pulled, while in the third stage a press proof was printed, which provided a final check on headlines. However, Gaskell acknowledges that the three stages were not always adhered to and that some books were proofed more than others.<sup>59</sup> Authors were not always involved in the process and revises were not always printed. Paredes makes no mention of a proof specifically intended for the author, stating that the first proof is for the corrector, the second for the typesetter – to determine whether the errors in the first proof had been corrected – and the third for the pressmen, to check whether any letters have been displaced or whether the paper has been placed on the press the wrong way round.<sup>60</sup> If errors were discovered at the press proof stage they would be corrected on the press, but the cost of materials meant it was uneconomical to throw away the uncorrected version, which explains the discrepancies that can frequently be discovered in different copies of early printed editions.

Various sources refer to the involvement in the proofing process of a reader, described by Moxon as 'some one that is well skill'd in true and quick Reading', who reads the *original* aloud 'in a conventionalized sing-song' while the corrector carefully checks the proof.<sup>61</sup> Unless the text was unusually complex, the punctuation markings, referred to as 'accidentals' in bibliographical theory, would not be specified. One therefore needs to imagine the *Ocho comedias* receiving their first performance by such a reader, speaking rapidly and with no regard for dramatic meaning. While listening to the reader, the corrector would have been focusing on the substantives, and therefore would not have taken in the sense of what was being read any more than the person who was reading it, so at this stage it was not possible to pick up any errors in punctuation that may have been made in the marking up of the original.

59 Gaskell, *A New Introduction*, 115.

60 Paredes, *Institución*, 42v.

61 Joseph Moxon, *Mechanick Exercises on the whole Art of Printing* (1683–4), ed. H. Davis and H. Carter (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1958), 247. Gaskell, *A New Introduction*, 112. See also Paredes, *Institución*, 42v, and Infantes, 'La apología de la imprenta', 39.

The main purpose of proof correction, as Gaskell makes clear, was to make sure that the words of the text, referred to as 'substantives' in traditional bibliographic theory, were reproduced accurately.<sup>62</sup> This task was performed by the corrector. According to Paredes, the first thing he did was to check the signatures and running titles.<sup>63</sup> If that was the case, the number of blatant errors in the headlines of *Ocho comedias* shows that he did not do this very carefully. Examination of six different copies of the first edition revealed a considerable range of errors.<sup>64</sup> These can be categorized as follows:

- Typographical errors, for example, '*Torada segunda*' on folio 19v of *El gallardo Español* in C.59.e.3, an error all the more extraordinary because it was a press 'correction' of the '*Torada primera*' that appeared in some copies, including G.10183 and nn.7.3, so clearly this headline was scrutinized at some point.
- Incorrect pagination, of which there are nine examples up to and including folio 222r, common to all the copies viewed. These errors can be sub-categorized as follows:
  - Wrong number (folios 15r, 34r, 69r, 127r, 136r, 151r, 222r).
  - Type inverted (folio 117r, where the '7' is upside down).
  - Type missing (folio 219r, where the '1' is missing).

Folios 103r, 121r, 182r, 213r, 239r and 240r show errors in pagination in some copies but not others, indicating press corrections. From folio 241r onwards all the page numbers, in all the copies viewed, are wrong, a mistake brought about by the duplication of the numbers 239 and 240, with the result that the folios are numbered 239, 240, 239, 240, 241 etc..

- Wrong act (folios 9v, 17v, 18v, 49v, 83v). Folios 19v and 21v are incorrect in some copies.
- Wrong play (folios 59r, 84r, 226r, 234r, 256r).
- Problems of continuity. One example is '*Entremes del Las maravillas*' on folios 246v and 247r, a mistake that occurs because the headline '*Retablo de las maravillas*' has been abbreviated to '*Las maravillas*' in folios 247r and 249r. Another example, '*Entremes del Cueva de Salamanca*', can be seen on folios 250v and 251r, an error resulting from the migration of the verso running headline of *El viejo zeloso*, which appears in the same gathering (li).

62 Gaskell, *A New Introduction*, 110–111.

63 Paredes, *Institución*, 42v.

64 The copies viewed were C.59.e.3 and G.10183, from the British Library, London; CERV. SEDÓ/8698 from the Biblioteca Nacional de España (online at <http://bib.cervantesvirtual.com/FichaObra.html?Ref=4994&portal=40>); Hisp. 7.61., from the University Library,

One headline that defies categorization, because it is so bizarre, can be found on folio 11r of *El gallardo español* (see Fig. 9.11). It reads '*Del Gallardo Catalan*,' an aberration that is difficult to explain as anything other than a joke on the part of one of the typesetters, perhaps one of Catalan origin himself. What is remarkable is not so much that this and so many other errors occurred, but that they could survive any conscientious proofing of the text. Once a forme had been printed, the chase, quoins and furniture that held it in place, together with any typographical items applicable to another forme, such as running titles, were re-used. These are generally referred to as the 'skeleton forme'.<sup>65</sup> In the case of *Ocho comedias*, different acts and even different plays would have appeared, not only in the same gathering, but on the same forme, so a typesetter, working under pressure on a complex project that involved sixteen discrete works, needed to be on his toes to ensure that no mistakes occurred in the headlines or in the continuity from verso to recto folios. An experienced corrector would have been well aware of the pitfalls. The checking of the running titles, catchwords and pagination was, after all, one of the most straightforward parts of his job. The fact that it was done so badly in the case of *Ocho comedias* strengthens the argument that there was no specialist corrector employed for the project, and that his tasks were carried out by a senior compositor, who was not always focused on the context of what he was setting.

Gaskell states that it was common practice for authors to take part in proof-correction during the early modern period.<sup>66</sup> Both Dadson and Cruickshank support that general view in their studies of Spanish practice, and their findings would appear to be corroborated by Paredes, who, in a handwritten marginal note, warns 'do not trust correction by the author alone'.<sup>67</sup> Rico, on the basis of his own detailed analysis of the printing of *Don Quijote*, refutes the claims of Gaos and Schevill that Cervantes never intervened in the editorial process, and asserts that the most significant changes in the second and third editions

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Cambridge; nn.7.3 from the Codrington Library, All Souls College, Oxford; and Vet. G2 e.2 from the Bodleian Library, Oxford.

65 Gaskell, *A New Introduction*, 109.

66 Gaskell, *A New Introduction*, 115.

67 Dadson, 'La corrección de pruebas', 116–119. Don W. Cruickshank, 'The text of *La vida es sueño*', in *The textual Criticism of Calderón's Comedias*, Don Cruickshank and Edward M. Wilson (eds.), Pedro Calderón de la Barca, *Comedias*, a facsimile edition, Don Cruickshank and John Varey (eds.) (London: Gregg and Tamesis Books, 1973), I. 79–87 (p. 81). Paredes, *Institución*, 42v.

# Del Gallaxo Catalan.

11

cuyo nombre sobe humano  
me incita, y mueue el desseo  
de vello. *Oro.* pues yo lo veo  
en solo ver a Lozano.

*Arl.* que tanto se le parece.

*Oro.* yo no se que diferencia  
entre los dos se me ofrece,  
esta es su misma presencia,  
y el braço que le engrandece.

*Ar.* q hazañs ha hecho esse hõbre  
para alcançar tan gran nombre  
como tiene? *Or.* escucha vna,  
de su esfuerço y su fortuna,  
que podra ser que te assombre.

*Dio* fondo en vna caleta  
de Argel vna galeota,  
casi de Oran cinco millas,  
poblada de Turcos toda.  
Dieron las guardas auiso  
al General, y con tropa  
de hasta trecientos soldados,  
se fue a requerir la costa.

Estaua el baxel tan junto  
de tierra, que se le antoja  
dar sobre el, ved que batalla  
tan nueua, y tan peligrosa.

Dispararon los soldados  
con priessa vna vez y otra,  
tanto que dexan los Turcos  
casi la cubierta sola.

No ay ganchos para acercar  
a tierra la galeota:  
pero el brauo don Fernando  
ligero a la mar se arroja.

Ase rezio de gúmena,  
q ya el Turco a priessa corta,  
porque no le dan lugar  
de que el ancor recoja.

Tirò hazia si con tal fuerça,  
que qual si fuera vna gócola,

hizo que el baxel besasse  
claréna con la popa.

Salid a tierra, y della vn salto  
dio al baxel, cosa espantosa,  
q piensa el Turco que el cielo  
Christianos llueue, y se alõbra

Reconocido su miedo,  
don Fernando, cõ voz ronca  
de la colera y trabajo,  
grita, victoria, victoria.

La voz da al vierto, y la mano  
a la espada vitoriosa,  
con que matando y hiriendo  
corrio de la popa a proa.

El solo rindio el baxel,  
mira Arlaxa si esta es obra  
para que la fama diga  
los bienes que del pregoná.

Prouado han bien sus axeros  
los lindos de Meliona,  
los Elches de Tremecen,  
y los Leuentes de Bona.

Cien Moros ha muerto en trá  
fete en estacada sola, (zes,  
docientos siruen al remo,  
cierto tiene en las mazmorras:  
Es muy humilde en la paz,  
y en la guerra no ay persona  
que le yguale, ya Christiana,  
o ya que sirua a Mahoma.

*Arl.* o que famoso Español.

*Oro.* Hercules, Hector, Roldan,  
se hizieron en su crisol.

*Ar.* mejor no le ha visto Oran.

*Or.* ni tal no le ha visto el Sol.

*Entra Nacor.*

*Arl.* aqueste Nacor me enfada,  
no me dexeys sola.

B 3

*Oro.*

can, without a shadow of doubt, be ascribed to Cervantes.<sup>68</sup> One should be wary, however, on the basis of Rico's findings concerning the first part of the *Quijote*, which appeared in 1605, of drawing conclusions about the extent of Cervantes's involvement in the proofing of *Ocho comedias* in 1615. The glaring errors in the running titles are strong evidence that he did not subject the text to much scrutiny. There are also nine missing lines, all of which should have been fairly easy to spot, given that the plays were written in verse.<sup>69</sup> The evidence suggests that no author's proof was made, and that no more than three proofs were produced: the first proof, a revise, and a press-proof. Minor differences between the different copies of the first edition that were examined indicate that press-corrections certainly occurred. However, the efficiency with which they were carried out is highly questionable, since they did not pick up the errors in running titles and pagination, and that, according to Gaskell, was one of their main purposes.<sup>70</sup>

That so many errors should have appeared in the running titles can be attributed partly to the way the print-shop was run, partly to the particular pressure it was subject to in the summer of 1615 and partly to the complexity of the edition. If the role of corrector was assumed by a senior typesetter, as all the evidence suggests, then he was likely to have been distracted from correcting proofs by his work as a compositor. *Ocho comedias* contained eight interludes as well as eight three-act plays, so running titles changed frequently and sections of as many as three different plays appear on one forme. There was, therefore, plenty of scope for error. Moreover, production was not focused on the volume of plays alone but also on the three other works with which it was printed concurrently. All four books – 177 sheets of quarto and 49 sheets of octavo – were produced within a period of just four and a half months between 13 June and 19 October – a rate of approximately two sheets per day. The date of the *tasa* for *Ocho comedias* (22 September), precedes that of the other work in quarto, the *Sermones*, by just two days, which indicates how closely production of the two volumes was linked. The fact that the Medina shop was clearly

68 Rico, *El texto del "Quijote"*, 36.

69 *La entretenida*, ed. O'Neill, 174r (after the first line); 186r (stanza following 'que melindres'); 186v (line following 'pues donde?'). *Ocho comedias*, facs. edn (Alicante: Biblioteca Virtual Miguel de Cervantes; Madrid: Biblioteca Nacional, 2001), 21r (col. b, after l. 13); 53v (2 lines missing from the stanza of *octava real* beginning on l. 2); 144r (after l. 27); 145r (after l. 27); 199r (line missing before or after last but one line), <http://bib.cervantesvirtual.com/FichaObra.html?Ref=4994&portal=40>.

70 Gaskell, *A New Introduction*, 115.

working at full capacity perhaps helps to explain why proofing of the *Ocho comedias* was not as thorough as it should have been.

Like the typesetters in Medina's print-shop, Cervantes, sixty-seven years old and in poor health, was juggling several projects simultaneously. The second part of *Don Quijote* was at the Juan de la Cuesta shop, and he was busy writing *Persiles y Sigismunda*, which he completed shortly before his death in April 1616. Moreover, according to what he tells his readers and his patron in the prologues and dedications of the *Segunda parte* and *Ocho comedias*, he was also planning two other works: *Semanas del jardín*, which was probably another volume of short stories, and the second part of his pastoral novel *Galatea*.<sup>71</sup> It is, therefore, easy to understand why he may not have had either the time or the energy to proof the text of *Ocho comedias* very carefully.

Dadson, having traced the lengthy process of printing, from author's pen to published edition, raises the important question 'what moment in this process represents the wishes of the author?', and concludes that 'the printed text, if he (the author) participated in the process, which is what usually happened, probably represents his final wishes, and these have to be respected'.<sup>72</sup> The evidence that has been presented here suggests that Cervantes's participation in the process of production of *Ocho comedias* was limited. While he may well have influenced the way the text was laid out, he had little or nothing to do with matters of spelling and punctuation, and it is unlikely that he took much part in proofing the text. Shillingsburg has drawn attention to the inclination of what he describes as the 'materialist' (as opposed to 'idealist') tendency within scholarly editing to define the textual authority of a printed edition as social, rather than authorial, on the grounds that the writer enters into an agreement with a publisher.<sup>73</sup> However, that school of thought is curiously idealistic about the nature of such agreements, which may, after all, be based on the author's pragmatic acceptance that some kind of deal is better than no deal at all. As McGann puts it, the writer may be 'a willing or passive partner in an unhelpful process, or an unwilling partner in a downright repressive

71 *Don Quijote*, ed. Instituto Cervantes, *Prólogo*, 677 and *Dedicatória*, 679. *La entretenida*, ed. O'Neill, 'Dedication'.

72 Trevor J. Dadson, 'Entre componedores y correctores', in José Manuel Lucía Megías (ed.), *Imprenta, libros y lectura en la España del Quijote* (Madrid: Imprenta Artesanal del Ayuntamiento de Madrid, 2006), 225–242 (p. 242).

73 Peter L. Shillingsburg, *Scholarly Editing in the Computer age: Theory and Practice*, 3rd edn (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1996), 97.

process'.<sup>74</sup> According to what Cervantes says in the prologue to *Ocho comedias* one can probably place him in the first of these two categories, for there is certainly more than a hint of weary resignation, and not a little irony, when he cites his reasons for going to print: 'I grew tired of the situation and sold them to the aforementioned bookseller, who printed them as you find them presented here. He paid me reasonably well for them. I took my money with equanimity and without having to argue with actors'.<sup>75</sup> Cervantes was actually never paid in full, for nine years after his death, his widow, Catalina Palacios Salazar y Voz-mediano, mentioned, in her last will and testament, an amount of 400 *reales* that Villarroel, the *librero* referred to in the prologue, still owed.<sup>76</sup> However, as he had earlier stated, in the *Adjunta al Parnaso*, Cervantes's main aim with the publication of *Ocho comedias* was not to profit financially but to preserve his plays for posterity, in the hope that future generations might look more kindly than his contemporaries on his works for the stage: 'But I am thinking of having them printed, so that one can see at one's leisure what passes quickly, or is concealed, or cannot be understood, when they are performed. And plays have their seasons and times, like songs'.<sup>77</sup> In that aim he undoubtedly succeeded, with the help of Francisca Medina and her workers, who toiled twelve hours a day, six days a week, in the infernal heat of a Madrid summer, to produce *Ocho comedias*. For in spite of the fact that the first edition contains a number of errors in the headlines, that several lines are missing, that the spelling is not the author's, and that the punctuation often obscures rather than illuminates the meaning, what is essential survives, and much of what is missing can be reconstructed through imaginative reading. Viewed in this light, the printed volume does represent Cervantes's wishes. Its imperfections ultimately do not matter, any more than the hissing, pops and scratches of an old gramophone record really matter, because what emerges, despite the limitations of the print process, is the artist's voice, still powerful enough to be heard.

74 Jerome J. McGann, *A Critique of Modern Textual Criticism* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1983), 125.

75 *La entretenida*, ed. O'Neill, 'Prologue'.

76 Sliwa, *Documentos*, 371–372.

77 *Viaje del Parnaso*, ed. Miguel Herrero García (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, Instituto "Miguel de Cervantes", 1983), 314.

# Printing Licenses and the Trade in Fiction in Spain in the First Half of the Seventeenth Century

*Manuel Calderón Calderón*

The purpose of this chapter is to identify what, where and how books of fiction, and theatre plays in particular, were printed and disseminated between 1610 when the law banning their importation and printing in Spain was passed, and 1635 when the prohibition to print comedies and novels came to an end. The prohibitions of the secular and religious authorities encountered substantial administrative difficulties. The prohibitions were met also with significant resistance from printers who developed strategies to overcome them: surreptitious editions, false imprints, and counterfeit texts and engravings. The analysis that follows draws upon an analytical catalogue, albeit incomplete, which I have compiled of theatre plays, novels and poetry printed in Spain during the first half of the seventeenth century.<sup>1</sup>

## What was Published?

Over the course of the first half of the seventeenth century, the regulation of works of fiction had a common objective, both from a political and religious perspective – to ensure that literature was steered towards a regeneration of the Hispanic Monarchy. In order to exert control over the contents of what flowed from the presses, between 14 April 1605 and 17 March 1608, privilege granting was interrupted.<sup>2</sup> On 28 November 1607, Philip III met with his counsellors and, as a consequence, the Inquisitor Juan Bautista de Azevedo named three professional censors to supervise the authorisation of the printing of ‘books of good purpose’.<sup>3</sup> At the same time, Confessor to the King, fray Jerónimo Javierre,

1 Over a thousand titles have been taken into account. I have not accounted for different issues or states. The same work may combine different genres. However, it has only been counted once. Generally, editions without an imprint, or at least those whose printing date and place cannot be determined, have been discarded.

2 Jaime Moll, ‘Los editores de Lope de Vega’, *Edad de Oro*, 14 (1995), p. 217.

3 Fermín de los Reyes, *El libro en España y América. Legislación y censura (siglos XV–XVIII)* (Madrid: Arco-Libros, 2000) I, p. 270.



advanced the suggestion that Philip should also prohibit the printing of any work outside of Spain written in the Peninsula.<sup>4</sup> This suggestion was accepted and became law on 4 June 1610.

On the basis of the restoration of good manners, romances were censored, as well as those of fabulous and profane content, such as 'vain books of chivalry and even *Celestinas* and *Lazarillos*'.<sup>5</sup> On 6 March 1625, the printing of novels and comedies was also prohibited. As a result, only 6 out of 29 books of chivalry published until 1650, and 3 out of 8 Celestine books, were printed at the Court, whereas scarcely a third of the 18 *Lazarillos* printed between 1600 and 1632 were printed in the kingdom of Castile.<sup>6</sup> As regards the two sentimental novels published on the first part of the century, neither was reprinted.<sup>7</sup>

Another consequence of this cultural policy was that over the course of the first half of the seventeenth century, different subgenres prevailed over the

4 The Confessor post was a mediating figure between theoretical and practical politics. Throughout the reigns of Philip III and Philip IV, there was a committee of confessors (*junta de confesores*) in charge of solving the ethical dilemmas which arose. Charles C. Jago, 'Tributos y cultura política en Castilla, 1590–1640', in Richard Kagan y Geoffrey Parker (eds.), *España, Europa y el mundo Atlántico. Homenaje a John H. Elliot* (Madrid: Marcial Pons / Junta de Castilla y León, 2001), p. 85; Leandro Martínez Peñas, *El confesor del rey en el Antiguo Régimen* (Madrid: Editorial Complutense, 2007), pp. 359 and following.

5 De los Reyes, *El libro en España y América*, 2000, I, p. 268.

6 These books were chivalry were: Juan de Silva y de Toledo, *Historia famosa del Príncipe don Policisne de Boecia* (Valladolid: Herederos de Juan Íñiguez de Lequerica, 1602) (USTC 5031140); Miguel de Cervantes, *El ingenioso hidalgo don Quijote de la Mancha* (Madrid: Juan de la Cuesta, 1605 y 1608) (USTC 5038997); *Segunda parte del ingenioso cauallero...*, (Madrid: Juan de la Cuesta, 1615) (USTC 5039082); *Primera y Segunda parte ...* (Madrid: En la imprenta de Francisco Martínez, 1637 and En la Imprenta Real, 1647) (USTC 5039817 & 5039827). The Celestine books were: Alonso Jerónimo de Salas Barbadillo, *La ingeniosa Elena, hija de Celestina* (Madrid: Juan de Herrera, 1614) (USTC 5025579), and *Comedia de La escuela de Celestina y el Hidalgo presumido* (Madrid: Andrés de de Porras, 1620) (USTC 5026202); Fernando de Rojas, *Tragicomedia de Calisto y Melibea, vulgarmente llamada Celestina* (Madrid: Viuda de Alonso Martín, 1632) (USTC 5024793). The *Lazarillos* were: *Lazarillo de Tormes corregido* (Madrid: Luis Sánchez, 1600) (USTC 349417); *Galateo español, agora nuevamente impresso y emendado... y la vida de Lazarillo de Tormes castigado* (Valladolid: Luis Sánchez, 1603; Medina del Campo: Cristóbal Lasso y Francisco García, 1603; Madrid: Viuda de Alonso Martín, 1632) (USTC 5017438, 5036210 & 5007067); *Lazarillo de Tormes castigado* (Alcalá: Juan Gracián que sea en gloria, 1605 y Justo Sánchez Crespo, 1607) (USTC 5009668 & 5025716); Juan Cortés de Tolosa, *Lazarillo de Manzanares* (Madrid: Viuda de Alonso Martín, 1620) (USTC 5022773).

7 Juan de Flores, *Historia de Aurelio y de Isabela, hija del Rey d'Escocia* (Bruxelles: Jean Mommart, 1608) (USTC 5006305); Diego de San Pedro, *Cárcel de amor* (Paris: Jacques Bessin, 1616) (USTC 5029431).

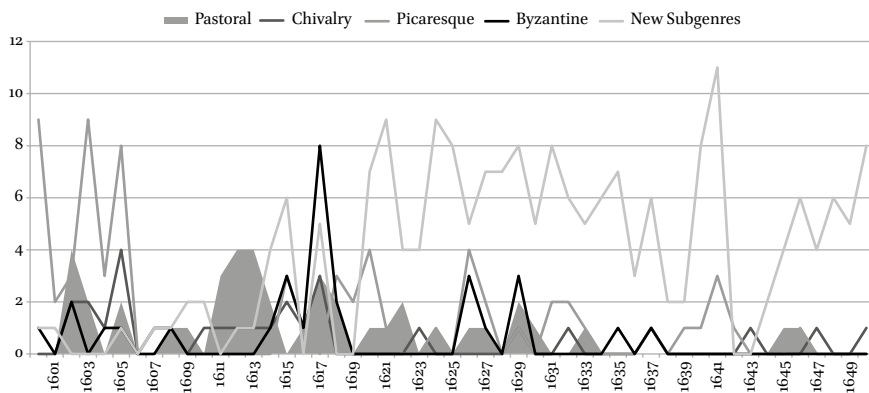


FIGURE 10.1 *Print and narrative subgenres (1600–1650).*

narrative subgenres of the sixteenth century (Fig. 10.1). In addition, as Anne Cayuela has revealed, the term ‘novel’ (*novela*) was omitted from the covers, hybrid editions of poetry and prose became popular, the Byzantine novel became successful, and overall literary texts acquired a far more ethical orientation.<sup>8</sup>

While the 1625 law brought about a fall in the picaresque genre, not all genres experienced a decline. Aside from the aforementioned *Lazarillos*, there were 55 editions of picaresque novels, 80 per cent of which were printed outside the kingdom of Castile. In addition to the courtly novels, moral or ‘exemplary’ texts, the satirical novel, and the ‘baroque novel’, other narrative subgenres also appeared, including:

- (a) The miscellaneous story: *La Filomena* (Madrid: Alonso Martín, 1621) (USTC 5005536) and *La Circe* (Madrid: Alonso Martín, 1624) (USTC 5027019) by Lope de Vega; and *Firmeza en los imposibles y fineza en los desprecios entre Dionisio e Isbela* (Zaragoza: Hospital Real y General de

8 Anne Cayuela, ‘La prosa de ficción entre 1625 y 1634. Balance de diez años sin licencias para imprimir novelas en los reinos de Castilla’, *Mélanges de la Casa de Velázquez*, XXIX, 2 (1993), pp. 51–76; *Le paratexte au Siècle d’Or. Prose romanesque, livres et lecteurs en Espagne au XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Genève: Droz, 1996). Jaime Moll explained why Lope de Vega had written a book that was neither a comedy nor a novel in ‘Por qué escribió Lope *La Dorotea* (contribución de la historia del libro a la historia literaria)’, 1616, 11 (1979), pp. 7–11. After analysing the ‘ideological intention’ of the work and the characters of the short novel, Jean-Michel Laspéras claimed that, with the exception of Cervantes, they were closer to the idealised profane code of nobility than to the religion of the Inquisition. *La nouvelle en Espagne au Siècle d’Or* (Montpellier: Université, 1987).

- Nuestra Señora de Gracia, 1646) (USTC 5020245) by Baltasar Altamirano y Portocarrero.<sup>9</sup>
- (b) The mixing of genres and the dialogue novel, including Francisco Loubayssin de la Marca's *Historia tragicómica de don Henrique de Castro, en cuyos estraños sucesos se ven los varios y prodigiosos efectos del amor y de la guerra* (París: Adrián Tiffeno, 1617) (USTC 5009110);<sup>10</sup> Jacinto de Espinel Adorno's *El premio de la constancia y pastores de Sierra Bermeja* (Madrid: Viuda de Alonso Martín, 1620) (USTC 5005774) – a *sui generis* pastoral elegy, with magic and Moorish parts; Gonzalo de Céspedes y Meneses's *Varia fortuna del soldado Píndaro* (Lisboa: Gerardo de la Viña, 1626) (USTC 5023385); Francisco de Quintana's *Historia de Hipólito y Aminta* (Madrid: Viuda de Luis Sánchez, 1627) (USTC 5010954);<sup>11</sup> Lope de Vega Carpio's *La Dorotea: acción en prosa* (Madrid: Imprenta del Reino, 1632; republished in Seville by Andrés Grande in 1635 and 1637) (USTC 5013078);<sup>12</sup> and Juan de Barrionuevo y Moya's *Soledad entretenida, en que se da noticia de la historia de Ambrosio Calisandro* (Écija: Luis Estupiñán, 1638) (USTC 5010616).
- (c) Narratives based on games of wit, not least Francisco Navarrete y Ribera's *El caballero invisible, compuesta en equívocos burlescos* (Sevilla: s.n., 1625) (USTC 5038010); the *Flor de sainetes* (Madrid: Catalina del Barrio y Angulo, 1640) (USTC 5027293) and Francisco de Quevedo's *Cuento de cuentos* (Zaragoza: Pedro Vergés, 1629) (USTC 5040063).

9 On *La Filomena*, see Patrizia Campana, 'La Filomena como género literario', in Florencio Sevilla y Carlos Alvar (eds.), *Actas del XIII Congreso de la Asociación Internacional de Hispanistas* (Madrid: Castalia, 2000), I, pp. 425–432. See also Manuel Fernández Nieto, 'Función de los géneros dramáticos en novelas y misceláneas', *Criticón*, 30 (1985), pp. 167–168.

10 Fresia Castillo Sánchez, 'La originalidad de la *Historia tragicómica de don Henrique de Castro* (1617), de Francisco Loubayssin de la Marca', in Antonio Vilanova (ed.), *Actas del XII Congreso de la Asociación Internacional de Hispanistas* (Barcelona: Promoción Publicaciones Universitarias, 1992), pp. 109–115; 'Influencias celestinescas en la *Historia tragicómica de don Henrique de Castro* (1617), de Francisco Loubayssin de la Marca', in Florencio Sevilla y Carlos Alvar (eds.), *Actas del XIII Congreso de la Asociación Internacional de Hispanistas* (Madrid: Castalia, 2000), I, pp. 433–438.

11 Stanislav Zimic, 'Francisco de Quintana, un novelista olvidado, amigo de Lope de Vega', *Boletín de la Biblioteca Menéndez Pelayo*, LI (1975), pp. 169–232; Beatriz Chenot, 'Vie madrilène et roman byzantin dans l'oeuvre de Francisco de Quintana', in Maurice Chevalier (ed.), *Traditions populaires et diffusion de la culture en Espagne (XVI–XVII siècles)* (Burdeaux: Presses Universitaires, 1982), pp. 131–148; Rocío Lepe García, 'La *Historia de Hipólito y Aminta*, de Francisco de Quintana: fuentes y modelos genéricos', *Etiópicas*, 9 (2013), pp. 261–352.

12 Moll, 'Por qué escribió Lope *La Dorotea*', 1979.

- (d) And the lipograms of Francisco de Navarrete y Ribera's *Novela de los tres hermanos, escrita sin el uso de la A*, included in the *Flor de sainetes*; Alonso de Alcalá y Herrera's *Varios efetos de amor en cinco novelas ejemplares y nuevo artificio de escribir en prosa y verso sin una de las letras vocales, excluyendo vocal diferente en cada novela* (Lisboa: Manuel da Silva, 1641) (USTC 5014425);<sup>13</sup> Alonso de Castillo Solórzano, author of the short novels *En el delito, el remedio, escrita sin la letra A*, included in *Los alivios de Casandra* (Barcelona: Jaime Romeu, 1640) (USTC 5021965), and *El desdén vuelto favor*, included in *La quinta de Laura* (Zaragoza: Real Hospital de Nuestra Señora de Gracia, 1649) (USTC 5022016).

The Committee for Reform (*Junta de Reformación*), created on 8 April 1621, was another consequence of the social and political crisis of the reign of Philip III.<sup>14</sup> On 6 March 1625, the Committee withdrew all licenses to print 'books of comedy, novels or other books of the genre'. It also dictated that 'comedies must not be written' and even threatened to exile Tirso de Molina.<sup>15</sup> The fear of excommunication forced the author to stop writing comedies for ten years, and once he resumed his activity he wrote hagiographic plays.<sup>16</sup> Nonetheless, the pronouncement of the Committee for Reform did not have any immediate punitive consequences. Not until September 1640 was he banished

13 He is also the author of *Jardín anagramático de divinas flores lusitanas, españolas y latinas* (Lisboa: oficina Craesbeckiana, 1654 in 4°), which contains 683 anagrams in prose and verse, and 6 hymns.

14 Ángel González Palencia, 'Junta de Reformación (1619–1625)' (Valladolid: Tipografía Poncelix, 1932); De los Reyes, *El libro en España y América*, 2000, I, pp. 295–296. Actually, the problems for printing comedies had already started in 1587 when the interests of the political power – who viewed the theatre as an instrument of ideological propaganda – clashed with the moralists, who censored both actors and performances. Rafael Vargas-Hidalgo, 'Censura teatral en la España de 1600', *Revista de Literatura*, CXVII (1997), pp. 129–136; Alfredo Hermenegildo, 'Norma moral y conveniencia política. La controversia sobre la licitud de la comedia', *Revista de Literatura*, XLVII (1985), pp. 5–21; De los Reyes, *El libro en España y América*, 2000, I, pp. 292–293. Giovanni Botero in his chapter 'On how to entertain the people' remembered that 'Escipión Nasica, fearful that by listening to comedies the Roman people would become infected with vice, persuaded the Senate to pull down a theatre that was being built for comedy performances', in *Diez libros de la Razón de Estado* (Madrid: por Luys Sanchez, 1593), f. 71r.

15 Ángel González Palencia, 'Quevedo, Tirso y las comedias ante la Junta de Reformación', *Boletín de la Real Academia Española*, xxv (1946), pp. 83–84.

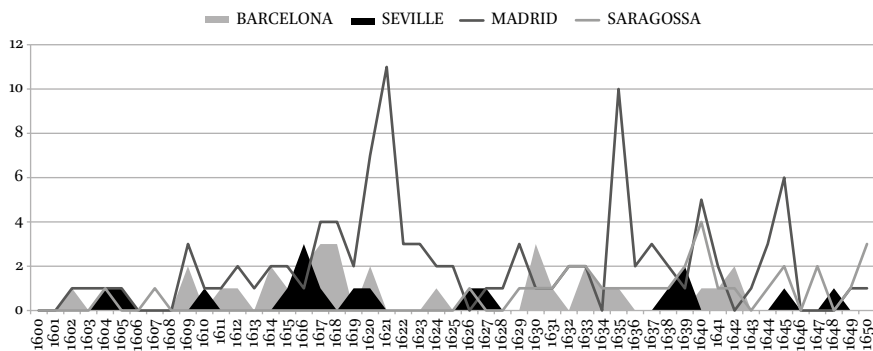
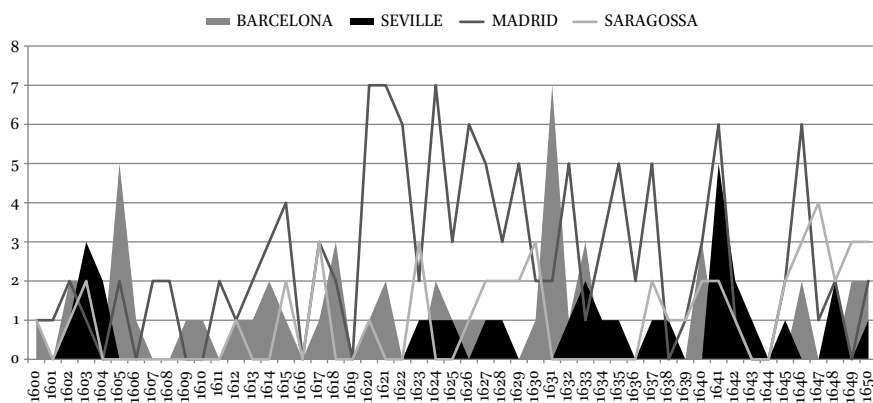
16 Germán Vega García-Luengos, 'Sobre la identidad de las Partes de comedias', *Críticón*, 108 (2010), pp. 69–70.

from Court and exiled to the Monastery of Cuenca – though not because of his comedies but rather for his satires ‘against the public government and other high quality people’, perhaps referring to the Jewish converts involved in Philip IV’s economic affairs.<sup>17</sup>

Even though both genres were banned in Castile from 7 March 1625 until 1634, the ban did not apply to licenses and privileges already granted.<sup>18</sup> Moreover, despite the fact that the Inquisition considered reading plays more pernicious than their performance, Madrid never ceased to be the publishing hub of theatre (Figs. 10.2 and 10.3).<sup>19</sup> Evidence of this is that, in spite of the 1625 ban, the printing of comedies rose to the levels of 1609–1616 in Madrid and the number produced was similar to that of Zaragoza and Barcelona, although it is worth noting that in 1630 the number of editions was higher in Barcelona (See Fig. 10.2).<sup>20</sup>

With the absence of privileges in Castile, more novels were printed in Seville and Barcelona between 1602 and 1606, and in 1623 in Zaragoza (See Fig. 10.3). Though the printing of new genres stopped, the Charter on 30 May 1643 that

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- 17 Francisco Florit Durán, ‘El teatro de Tirso después del episodio de la Reformación’, in Felipe B. Pedraza y Rafael González (eds.), *La década de oro de la Comedia española (1630–1640). Actas de las XIX Jornadas de Teatro Clásico* (Almagro: Festival de Almagro / Universidad Castilla-La Mancha, 1997), p. 88. Note that fray Antonio de Sotomayor, Philip IV’s confessor between 1616 and 1643, had been instructed to pave the road for the entry of the Portuguese Jewish converts into the credit system of the Monarchy through the *committee of confessors*. Carmen Sanz Ayán, *Los banqueros y la crisis de la Monarquía Hispánica de 1640* (Madrid: Marcial Pons, 2013), pp. 53 and 136.
- 18 Jaime Moll, ‘El problema bibliográfico de la *Primera parte de Comedias* de Tirso de Molina’, in *Homenaje a Guillermo Guastavino* (Madrid: Asociación Nacional de Bibliotecarios, Archiveros y Arqueólogos, 1974), pp. 85–94; De los Reyes, *El libro en España y América*, 2000, I, pp. 267–268 and 296.
- 19 Virgilio Pinto Crespo, ‘Pensamiento, vida intelectual y censura en la España de los siglos XVI y XVII’, *Edad de Oro*, 8 (1989), p. 192. For this reason, in 1644, when performances were banned, the Council of Castile suggested ‘that the comedies would limit to the affairs of role models, about exemplary lives and deaths, brave quests, political governments, and all this without love affairs’. De los Reyes, *El libro en España y América*, 2000, I, pp. 301–302.
- 20 The court is ‘where the publishers release their first editions of the works [...]. If a book is expected to succeed, the book publishers from other realms will be ready to publish it immediately, even in the same year’. Legal but unauthorised editions. ‘The initial investment is lower, because there is no need to pay the author and it can be reduced if the cost of paper and printing are lower, as is the case of Barcelona’. Jaime Moll, ‘La narrativa castellana a comienzos del siglo XVII: aspectos editoriales’, *Anales Cervantinos*, XL (2008), p. 44.

FIGURE 10.2 *Printed theatre plays (1600–1650).*FIGURE 10.3 *Printed novels (1600–1650).*

banned the licenses of common books only had a temporary effect, for printing soon regained its regular pace (See Fig. 10.1).<sup>21</sup>

In the 1640s, plays – both performed and made available in print – became a focal point of ideological conflict between those who defended their prohibition for moral reasons, and those that saw the theatre as a profitable means of raising tax revenue. Between 1 March 1644 and Easter 1645, the representation of ‘hitherto unseen comedies, except those about history and the lives of saints’ was forbidden,<sup>22</sup> resulting in an increase of the printing of plays

21 De los Reyes, *El libro en España y América*, 2000, II, pp. 861–872.

22 Norman D. Shergold and John Varey, ‘Datos históricos sobre los primeros teatros de Madrid: prohibiciones de autos y comedias y sus consecuencias (1644–1651)’, *Bulletin Hispanique*, 62–63 (1960), pp. 286–288.

(See Fig. 10.2). Later, performances resumed and a Charter on 5 August 1645 stated that:

each person who will see the comedies performed will have to pay four maravedis more than usual; a part of that sum will serve to maintain, give and cure the soldiers and hospitals of my army at present in Catalonia and the frontiers Portugal, and also those I may have in the future.<sup>23</sup>

Thus, comedies were performed for a year (until carnival 1646), which coincided with a decrease in the number of play editions. Until 1651, the more providential view prevailed and performance was banned on moral grounds, reducing the number of theatre plays and novels printed, although not in the Kingdom of Aragón (Fig. 10.4).<sup>24</sup>

The shifting rhythms of cultural policy, reflected by legislation governing the theatre, corresponded with fluctuations in the printing and performance of plays. The commercial interest, however, was mainly from the stage, rather in books.<sup>25</sup> On the other hand, the primacy of comedy over other dramatic genres could be linked easily to the rise of the novel (Figs. 10.5 and 10.6 here. See also Fig. 10.4) to such extent that the stylistic and editorial similarity

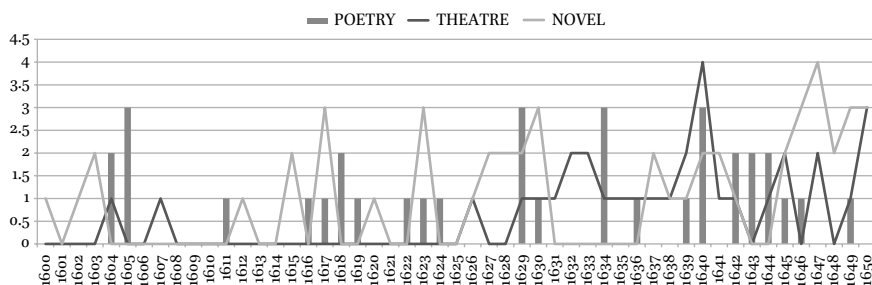
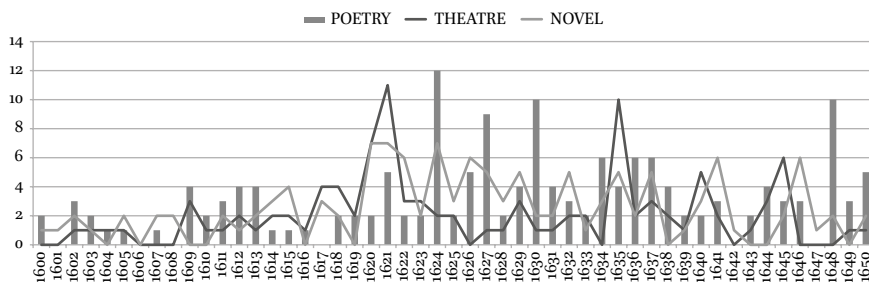
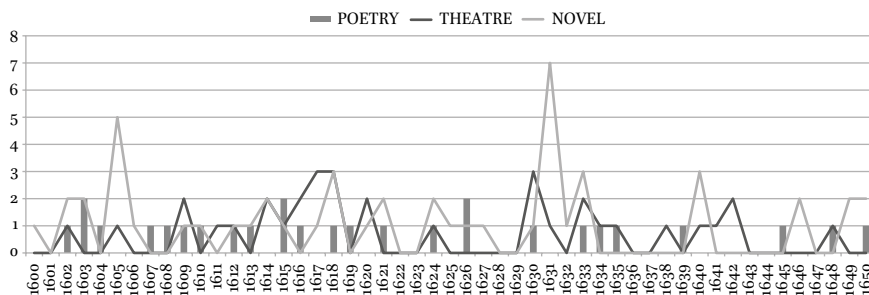


FIGURE 10.4 Printed plays in Saragossa (1600–1650).

- 23 Emilio Cotarelo y Mori, *Bibliografía de las controversias sobre la licitud del teatro en España* (Madrid: Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos, 1904), ed. facsimile, with preliminary study and indexes of José Luis Suárez (Granada: Universidad, 1997), p. 634.
- 24 'Because it seems these are the causes of why some sins are committed' [*Por parecer que destas causas proceden parte de los pecados que se cometen*], Philip IV remarked to Sor María de Ágreda. Shergold y Varey, 'Datos históricos sobre los primeros teatros de Madrid', p. 290.
- 25 Girolamo da Sommaia registered in his diary 'around 188 comedies performed in Salamanca's public theatre from 1604 to 1607'. George Haley, 'Lope de Vega y el repertorio de

FIGURE 10.5 *Printed plays in Madrid (1600–1650).*FIGURE 10.6 *Printed plays in Barcelona (1600–1650).*

between comedies and the novel – detachable comedies, divided in *Parts* of six or twelve works – can be seen in the common practice of printing works of both genres on the same paper copy.<sup>26</sup>

Gaspar de Porras en 1604 y 1606', in David Kossoff and José Amor y Vázquez (eds.), *Homenaje a William L. Fichter Estudios sobre el teatro antiguo hispánico y otros ensayos* (Madrid: Castalia, 1971), p. 258; George Haley (ed.), Girolamo da Sommaia, *Diario de un estudiante de Salamanca* (Salamanca: Universidad, 1997). Lope de Vega, full of cynical indifference, addresses the reader in his dedication on Part 10 (1618): 'read these Comedies or leave them, it does not matter; I already received the profit you think you can take from me' [*lee estas Comedias o déjalas, que no importa; pues ya me dieron el provecho que tú piensas que me quitas*]. The first part of Lope's comedies included panegyrics and *entremés* (short, comic theatrical performance of one act, usually played during the interlude of a performance) because the three genres constituted macro-texts typical of performances and not of written books. Luigi Giuliani, 'La Parte de comedias como género editorial', *Criticón*, 108 (2010), pp. 26 and 31.

- 26 Marcos A. Morínigo, 'El teatro como sustituto de la novela en el Siglo de Oro', *Revista de la Universidad de Buenos Aires*, 2 (1957), pp. 41–61; Mariano Baquero Goyanes, 'Comedia y novela en el siglo XVII', in *Serta Philologica Fernando Lázaro Carreter* (Madrid: Cátedra,



### Where was Fiction Printed?

The printing rules, royal charters, licenses and privileges issued during the first half of the seventeenth century showed the distrust of the authorities towards the book in general. In order to illustrate this, it is worth mentioning the dialogue between the graduate Leonelo and the villain Barrildo in the second act of *Fuenteovejuna* (1619):<sup>27</sup>

Barrildo: Después que vemos tanto libro impreso,  
no hay nadie que de sabio no presuma.

Leonelo: Antes, que ignoran más siento por eso,  
por no se reducir a breve suma;  
porque la confusión, con el exceso,  
los intentos resuelve en vana espuma.  
[...]

Barrildo: Leonelo, la impresión es importante.

Leonelo: Sin ella muchos siglos se han pasado,  
y no vemos que en éste se levante  
un Jerónimo santo, un Agustino (vv. 901–931).

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1983), pp. 13–29. Lope de Vega in *La desdicha por la honra* (1624) wrote: ‘I have thought that novels have the same precepts as comedies, whose aim is to provide the people with satisfaction and pleasure, even sacrificing the art; and this, said without much intention, was Aristotle’s opinion’, cited by Vega García-Luengos, ‘Sobre la identidad de las Partes de comedias’, 2010, p. 67; who also remembers the frequent plagiarism of novels carried out by comedy writers. ‘The decade of the thirties is crucial [...]’. Comedies tend to narrate rather than show, and the characters tend to speak rather than act’ in a process of novelisation, perhaps influenced by the increase of reading theatre’, Vega García-Luengos, ‘La transmisión del teatro en el siglo XVII’, in Javier Huerta Calvo (dir.), *Historia del teatro español 1. De la Edad Media a los siglos de oro* (Madrid: Gredos, 2003), pp. 1308–1309, quoting Maria Grazia Profeti, ‘Jacinto de Herrera y Sotomayor y la comedia calderoniana’, in Irene Pardo y Antonio Serrano (eds.), *En torno al teatro del Siglo de Oro, xv Jornadas de Teatro del Siglo de Oro* (Almería: Instituto de Estudios Almerienses-Diputación de Almería, 2001), pp. 233–236.

<sup>27</sup> Consequently, the 1627 law established that ‘unnecessary or inconvenient books must not be printed [id est,] the hand must be stopped, the superficial must not come out and common profit must not be expected’ because, as Diego Saavedra Fajardo would write in 1681, ‘the increasing number of books is endless, due to the boldness of their authors and the ease of access to printing and trade; men are learning how to write and are writing to earn with their writings’. *República literaria*, p. 71.

*Barrildo: Anyone who has seen so many printed books is bound to think he is wise.*

*Leonelo: Froth and confusion are the chief results of so much reading matter. Even the most voracious reader gets sick of seeing so many titles.*

[...]

*Barrildo: But in spite of all this, Leonelo, you must admit that printing is important.*

*Leonelo: The world got on very well without it for a good many centuries – and no Saint Jerome or Saint Augustine has appeared since we have had it.*

The purpose of the legislation was also to protect the book market in Castile (Fig. 10.7). An example of this is the law of 1610, which endorsed a previous law of 1558 that banned the introduction of romance books from other realms, whether peninsular or otherwise, without a license from the Council of Castile. The new law added the prohibition banning the printing of books by Spanish authors in other realms, although each book used to have two licenses – one for printing within and another for outside Castile.<sup>28</sup> Nevertheless, in view of the problems facing authors in Spain, some books written by Spanish authors were indeed printed abroad.

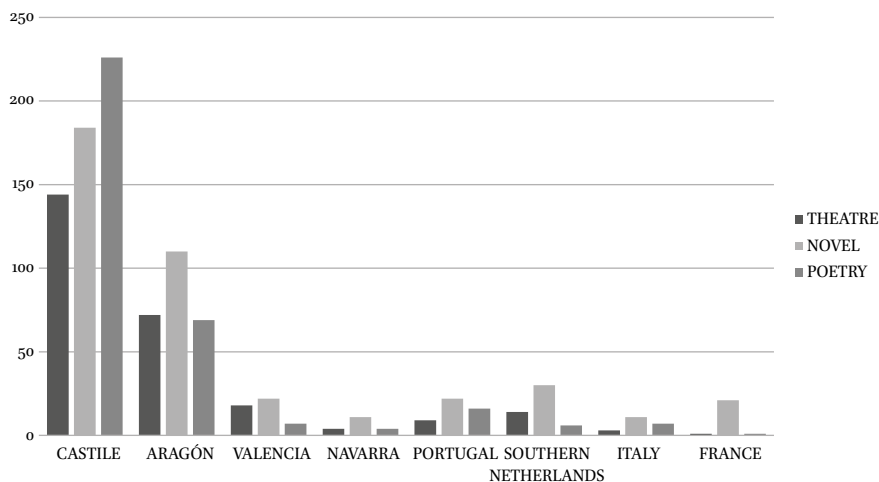


FIGURE 10.7 *Prints in the realms of Hispanic Monarchy (1600–1650).*

28 The law of 15 September 1617 corrected the previous 1558 iteration and it was applicable only to the first print of foreign works and second prints of natural ones, produced outside the kingdom (the laws of October 1655 and April 1658 banned the imports

	Theatre	Novel	Poetry	
<i>Realms of Castile</i> (included Andalucía, Granada and Murcia)	144	184	226	554

	Theatre	Novel	Poetry	
<i>Kingdom of Aragón</i>	72	110	69	251
<i>Kingdom of Valencia</i>	18	22	7	47
<i>Kingdom of Navarra</i>	4	11	4	19
<i>Kingdom of Portugal</i>	9	22	16	47
	103	165	96	364

	Theatre	Novel	Poetry	
<i>Southern Netherlands, Italy and France</i>	18	62	14	94

However, the number of Castilian prints in proportion to other realms was much more balanced, though the ratio of poetry prints in Castile was much higher than that of novels'.

	Theatre	Novel	Poetry	
<i>Realms of Castile</i> (included Andalucía, Granada and Murcia)	144	184	226	554
<i>Other Kingdoms</i>	121	227	110	458

of printed books of Spanish authors abroad). Regarding the prohibition to print in other realms, it was only applicable to first editions of works. Notwithstanding, books were still introduced and, in order to satisfy the complaints of booksellers, a new law was enacted on 13 June 1627; it was the most important law for the book trade industry. De los Reyes, *El libro en España y América*, 2000, I, p. 304.

### How Were Works of Fiction Printed?

The printing of works of fiction required a combination of philology (genre and text transmission), typography (the printer's intervention, the size and format of the cover – frontispiece, fonts, emblems, typographic marks, the organisation of the texts, engravings), law and administration (the acts regarding the preliminaries: approval, censorship, license and privileges), trade (the cost of the necessary sheets of paper to print the volume; legal and illegal editions), ideology and politics (the role of the authorities and the function and use of the texts), aesthetics (the intention of the author, the use of the prologues), and sociology (authorial status, direct or indirect reference to the target readers, taste and reception).

The relationship between formal non-religious lyric poetry and the printing press was different from that of the novel, or indeed the theatre. The market for the latter was primarily through performance. However, theatrical performances of the *Comedia Nueva* (New Comedy) were adjusted to one sheet per act, thus allowing the direct transfer of the text from the theatre to the print shop.<sup>29</sup> The physical support of verse fiction texts contributed to the dignification of poetry in the *republic of letters*, the development of its editorial market (Fig. 10.8), as well as to a taste standardisation and canonical realignment.<sup>30</sup>

The target of this new book market, was no longer a single person, a dedicatee, or a limited circle – as in the handwritten transmission of both poetry and theatre, such as *el libro de comedias*.<sup>31</sup> On the contrary, the target audience was

29 There was also an attempt to do it with the theatre. When Lope de Vega decided to dignify his figure as a playwright and cultivated Aristotelian man, he ceased to publish *comedias sueltas*, because this Spanish publishing practice lowered the value of the Parts, for these comedies were considered a minor genre. Giuliani, 'La Parte de comedias como género editorial', 2010, p. 33.

30 Marc Fumaroli, *La République des Lettres* (Paris: Gallimard, 2015). Small formats were portable and cheaper to produce, they were more adequate for personal reading or for educational purposes. From 1580 to 1648, 8° (octavo) was the preferred format for printing, followed by 4° (quarto). The coexistence of 4° and 8°, even by the same authors, meant that the former was used to give prestige to the author. The increase in the use of quarto and also the use of frontispieces and engravings was very common in the first decade of the seventeenth century, along with a desktop format for non-canonical dramatists, whereas the latter was used to disseminate the works of well-known authors. Ignacio García Aguilar, *Poesía y edición en el Siglo de Oro* (Madrid: Calambur, 2009), pp. 183, 213 and 265, who has analysed the para-textual functions of this type of poetry in terms of the context in which it was published, as well as the way in which printed lyric made macro-texts be considered from new organisational perspectives.

31 Similar to the lyric and fiction writing of Lope de Vega, the comedies of his *Trezena parte* (Madrid: Viuda de Alonso Martín, 1620) (USTC 5019096) are also each aimed at different

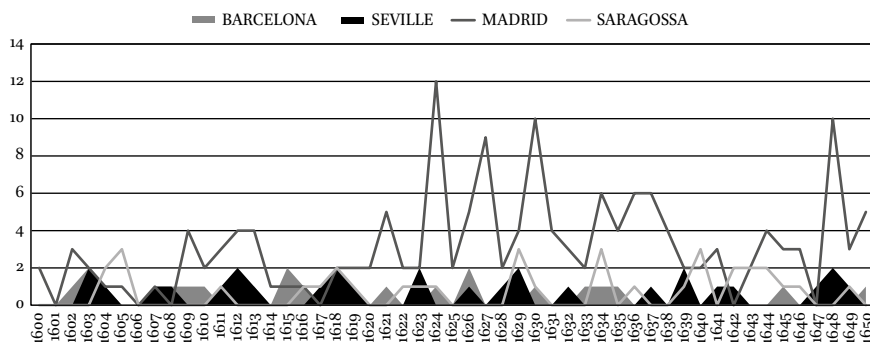


FIGURE 10.8 Printed poetry (1600–1650).

now wide and unknown, which had an impact both on the formalisation of the physical format (*las partes* of published theatre plays) and the genre.

In the case of the novel, both the printing press, and political and inquisitorial censorship strengthened authorship because anonymity had become a crime.<sup>32</sup> The most representative example is, again, Lope de Vega, who decided to ennoble his genealogy on the covers of *La Arcadia* and *El peregrino en su patria*. At the same time, he abandoned the theatre, a popular genre, and focused on more prestigious genres, epic and fiction writing.<sup>33</sup>

On the one hand, the appearance of the *Comedia Nueva* in print in Spain took place a few years after the closure of theatres between 1598 and 1600.<sup>34</sup> On the other hand, 'the publishing strategy tended to consider the *Parte* of

people, because it is part of an authorship strategy, which Lope would prolong up to *Parte* 20, intended to promote himself both culturally and socially.

32 Fernández Nieto, 'Función de los géneros dramáticos en novelas y misceláneas', 1985, pp. 157–168. Maria Grazia Profeti, 'Strategie redazionali ed editoriali di Lope de Vega', in *Nell'officina di Lope* (Firenze: Alinea, 1999), pp. 11–14 and 'I ritratti del Fénix de los ingenios', *ibidem*, pp. 45–72. Compare with Hanno Ehrlicher, 'Poetas peregrinos: autoconfiguraciones autorales en las novelas de aventuras de Lope de Vega y Miguel de Cervantes', *eHumanista/Cervantes*, 1 (2012), pp. 211–225. By contrast, 'the analysis of the inquisitorial indexes and the processes or censorship adverse to lyric shows that civil and religious authorities were not at all interested in the printed dissemination of the lyric'. Moreover, as time went by, aesthetic considerations of poetry and text style were included in the approval and censorship of the preliminaries. As texts gradually acquired a canonical value (in favour of erudition, wit and taste), they proliferated from 1609 onwards, see García Aguilar, *Poesía y edición en el Siglo de Oro*, 2004, pp. 90–121.

33 Elizabeth R. Wright, *Pilgrimage to patronage: Lope de Vega and the Court of Philip III, 1598–1621* (Lewisburg: Bucknell UP, 2001); Ehrlicher, 'Poetas peregrinos', 2012, pp. 214–215.

34 Giuliani, 'La Parte de comedias como género editorial', 2010, 29. Compare with the inverse-proportional fluctuation of theatre editions and performances in the forties.

comedies as a global object (a theatre book) rather than as a collection, imitating the novel book'.<sup>35</sup>

As for the typographical aspect, the underlying cultural control from the royal edicts of the Council of Castile, combined with the difficult administrative procedures and the competence represented by editors and booksellers, resulted in editions being printed which while legal were unauthorised by their authors, as well as illegal editions that were not withdrawn when the ban was lifted in 1635.<sup>36</sup>

- Unlicensed editions, published before the 1627 law whereby it was compulsory to obtain a license for printing. They often added the legal statements from earlier editions, adjusting the dates. Their imprints were, however, authentic.
- Fake editions, with preliminaries which could include the censor's approval, license, and tax (the latter was not applicable in the Crown of Aragon, thus confirming that it is a fake edition), as well as false imprints, although the year could be accurate. These editions were usually printed outside of Castile.<sup>37</sup>
- Counterfeit editions or reprints that tried to supplant pre-existing legal editions. Counterfeit editions reproduced, either verbatim or in an abbreviated fashion, the preliminaries as well as the imprints – either in their entirety or in part. They could have been published by the same printer, who wished to profit, years ahead, from the success of a legal edition. They were printed in Castile, mainly in Seville (Fig. 10.9).<sup>38</sup>

35 Florence D'Artois, '¿Es posible una poética de la *parte* de comedias? Cuestiones, dificultades, perspectivas', *Criticón*, 108 (2010), p. 19.

36 De los Reyes, *El libro en España y América*, 2000, I, pp. 358–359. Jaime Moll, 'Problemas bibliográficos del libro del Siglo de Oro', *Boletín de la Real Academia Española*, LIX (1959), 49–107; De los Reyes, *El libro en España y América*, 2000, I, p. 301. See the case of *Novelas amorosas y ejemplares* (Zaragoza: Hospital Real y General de Nuestra Señora de Gracia, 1637), by María de Zayas, in Jaime Moll, 'La primera edición de las *Novelas amorosas y ejemplares* de María de Zayas y Sotomayor', *Dicenda. Cuadernos de Filología Hispánica*, 1 (1982), pp. 177–179.

37 Jaime Moll, 'El problema bibliográfico de la *Primera parte de Comedias* de Tirso de Molina', 1974, pp. 85–94. See Cayuela, *Le paratexte au Siècle d'Or*, 1996. For editions in The Netherlands, see Harm den Boer, 'Ediciones falsificadas de Holanda en el siglo XVII: escritores sefarditas y censura judaica', in *Varia Bibliographica. Homenaje a José Simón Díaz* (Kassel: Reichenberger, 1988), pp. 99–104.

38 Moll, 'Problemas bibliográficos del libro del Siglo de Oro', 1959, p. 84 y 'La narrativa castellana a comienzos del siglo XVII', 2008, p. 44. The pirated editions, printed during the validity of a privilege and within its territory by someone who had not been granted the license, but with authentic typographic data, were extremely rare 'because the possibility of a counterfeit edition and the scope of the privilege and its territory – one of the realms of the Spanish monarchy – almost excludes them', Moll, 'Problemas bibliográficos del

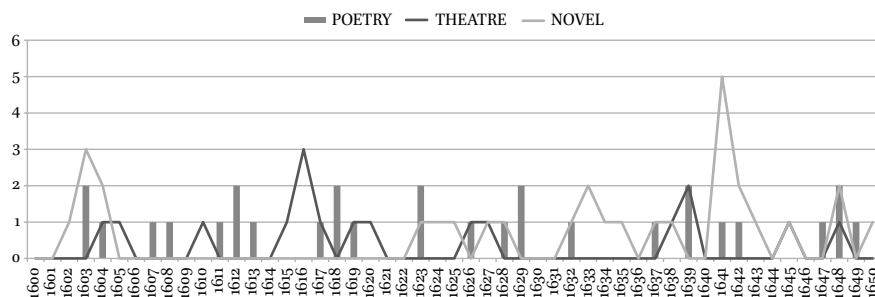


FIGURE 10.9 Printed plays in Seville (1600–1650).

- ‘Frauds to camouflage comedies’ and novels to avoid censorship, such as those by Juan Pérez de Montalbán. This phrase was used by Jerónimo de Vera in his letter of 8 July 1632, where he censored *Para todos*.<sup>39</sup> Cristóbal Suárez de Figueroa had already explained the way to escape censorship in his *El Pasajero* (1617): ‘it would be convenient to add a pompous frontispiece, a bulky name, exemplary and attractive, [after which] interpolate the verse with some prose, with the simple aim to explain the occasion. With this mixture, this particular combination, the bad quality of *Rimas* can be concealed, and motivation is given to obtain the license’.<sup>40</sup>

The printing of comedies was encouraged by playwrights themselves, who sought to gain control over their work.<sup>41</sup> However, while the printing press stabilised the textual chaos of manuscript copies, dramatists began to complain about the alterations and defects of the editions that were being produced. Perhaps the best known examples of these can be found in the publication history of the *Partes*.

- I. *Partes* (parts or volumes) of comedies came into being as a way to publish plays, a format devised by booksellers, which disregarded the view of the playwright.<sup>42</sup>
  - a. First came the *Partes*, the work of Valencian playwrights.

libro del Siglo de Oro’, 1959, p. 89 y ‘El problema bibliográfico de la *Primera parte de Comedias* de Tirso de Molina’, 1974, p. 89.

39 Biblioteca Nacional de España, MSS 12964/52.

40 *El Pasajero*, ed. M<sup>a</sup> Isabel López Bascuñana (Barcelona: Promociones y Publicaciones Universitarias, 1988), II, pp. 192–193.

41 In a memorial, Lope de Vega requested the prohibition of manuscript comedies. De los Reyes, *El libro en España y América*, 2000, I, p. 294.

42 Vega García-Luengos, ‘Sobre la identidad de las Partes de comedias’, 2010, pp. 58–59.

- b. Then came Lope's 25 *Partes*, although only fifteen of them were authorised. Parts 9 to 20 were 'authorised', as well as *Partes* 21, 22, 23 which he was able to revise before his death.
  - c. *Partes* 26–29 came next – known as 'extravagantes', which were the work of a number of different playwrights. Printers within Aragon, and Andalusia, continued printing Lope's *Partes*.<sup>43</sup>
  - d. Further *Partes* were also published, by other playwrights, not least: Calderón, Jacinto Cordero, Antonio Enríquez Gómez, Juan Ruiz de Alarcón, Juan Pérez de Montalbán, Francisco de Rojas, Tirso de Molina and José de Valdivielso.
- II. The law of 1625 forced the printing of plays to move from Madrid to Seville, Zaragoza, and Barcelona. There, collections were published which mixed Lope's works with those of other dramatists, along the lines of Lope's *Partes* 3 and 5. 'The scarcity of new original comedies by Lope saw that other authors' works were included in the new *partes*; at the same time, many comedies he had not written were falsely attributed to him. In such unauthorised editions, Lope's name did not even appear on the covers'.<sup>44</sup> These included:
- a. *Comedias de Lope de Vega y otros autores*.
  - b. The so called *Partes* of 'varios' (several) or 'diferentes' (different) authors.
  - c. The collection *Doce comedias, las más grandiosas*, printed in Lisbon between 1646 and 1653. This was produced in such a way that allowed for comedies to be sold as an entire volume, or as constituent parts.<sup>45</sup>
- Fake editions of *Partes* 26–29, and the collections compiled using the work of various dramatists were, in many cases, published contemporaneously. They might, indeed, include texts thought to be lost, such as Lope's *Parte 25 extravagante*. On other occasions, printers used manuscripts that had been used during the performance of plays.<sup>46</sup>

43 As Lope himself claimed in *La Dorotea*. Jaime Moll, 'De la continuación de las *partes* de comedias de Lope de Vega a las *partes* colectivas', in *Homenaje a Alonso Zamora Vicente. Tomo III: Literatura española de los siglos XV-XVII* (Madrid: Castalia, 1992), 2, pp. 199–211. See also Maria Grazia Profeti, *La Collezione "Diferentes autores"*, (Kassel: Reichenberger, 1988).

44 Moll, 'De la continuación de las *partes*', 1992.

45 Maria Grazia Profeti, 'Doce comedias las más grandiosas... una collezione teatrale lusitana del secolo XVII', *La bibliofilia*, LXXX (1978), pp. 73–83.

46 Maria Grazia Profeti, 'Los textos literarios para el teatro: recensión bibliográfica y problemas ecdóticos', *Trabajos de la Asociación Española de Bibliografía*, 1 (1993), pp. 261–274.



- III. After 1635, the printing of Lope's *Partes* restarted and were known as 'verdaderas' (authentic) or 'perfectas' (perfect) so as to distinguish them from the collected works. Lope's last five *Partes* are: 21 'verdadera' (1635); 22 'perfeta' (1635); 23 (1638); 24 'perfeta' (1641) and 25 'perfeta' (1647). In order to sell them easily, they were sometimes detached.
- IV. *Partes* 42 and 43 (1650), were based on primitive *comedias* 'sueltas', and are therefore not genuine. *Parte* 44 (1652) was the final parte.

Summing up:

1604–1625	I	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>a) <i>Partes</i> from Valencian dramatists</li> <li>b) Lope's <i>Partes</i> 1–20. Only 9–20 authorised, although he also finished <i>Partes</i> 21, 22 and 23.</li> <li>c) <i>Partes</i> 25–29 'extravagantes' (extravagant)</li> <li>d) Collected works from other dramatists</li> </ul>
Act from 6th March 1625 by the Committee of Reform		
30s and 40s	II	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>a) <i>Comedies</i> by Lope de Vega and other authors</li> <li>b) 44 <i>Partes</i> from 'varios' (various) or 'diferentes' (different) authors. Apart from 21 and 23, seven parts that probably existed have been lost: from 34 to 40 (between 1642–1646)</li> <li>c) The collection from Lisboa (5 vols.) was detachable</li> </ul>
	III	<i>Partes</i> 'verdaderas' or 'perfetas' by Lope de Vega, sometimes detachable
The 50s	IV	Non genuine collected works, based on primitive <i>comedias</i> 'sueltas'

Throughout the first half of the century, both religious and secular authorities attempted to control the dissemination of printed works in order to promote cultural values that would reverse a perceived moral and social decline. They insisted, therefore, that printed literature be instructive and further the common good.<sup>47</sup> To that end, the Inquisition not only endorsed the bans and

47 The introductions to the six novels of *Tardes entretenidas*, by Alonso de Castillo Solórzano, were warnings that underlined their usefulness and moral profit 'for the reformation

purges by means of their bills and edicts of 1612, 1632, 1640 and 1667, but also strove to promote a new cultural worldview, 'altering the mechanisms of intellectual property, and even scholarly and academic practices'.<sup>48</sup>

In all, legal initiatives sought to protect the domestic book market, as well as promoting a strong utilitarian concept of knowledge, by regulating the character and number of editions being produced. The poor quality of printed plays in this period, and the sueltas in particular, was not due entirely to the precarious economic climate. It was also a direct consequence of the fear and mistrust of the authorities as they were confronted by the power of the printing press.<sup>49</sup>

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of customs and habits'. (Moll, 'Por qué escribió Lope *La Dorotea*', 1979, 8). Also, *Los Sueños* (The Dreams), by Quevedo, were banned because of their rascally style and because it discredited honest professions. De los Reyes, *El libro en España y América*, 2000, 1, p. 271.

48 Virgilio Pinto Crespo, 'Pensamiento, vida intelectual y censura en la España de los siglos xvi y xvii', *Edad de Oro*, 8 (1989), p. 181.

49 Luis Gil Fernández, *Panorama social del humanismo español (1500–1800)* (Madrid: Tecnos, 1997), pp. 579–580.

**PART 4**

***Market Specialisms: Chivalric Literature, Medicine  
and the News***





## Printing Books of Chivalry in Portugal at the Beginning of the Seventeenth Century

*Aurelio Vargas Díaz-Toledo*

The objective of this chapter is to investigate the publication of books of chivalry in Portugal over the course of the first half of the seventeenth century. Printed chivalric texts declined significantly in this period, a fact which can be attributed more to internal crises within the Portuguese publishing industry itself, than to any change in the literary appetite of the population. While the numbers of books of chivalry issued on the presses dwindled, the continued demand from consumers was met through manuscript.

Let us begin with an overview of the publishing history of books of chivalry in the sixteenth century. The first work of chivalry known to have been printed in Portugal appeared in 1522. Entitled the *Crónica do Imperador Clarimundo, donde os reis de Portugal descendem*, it was written two years earlier by the historian João de Barros (1496–1570). Printed in Lisbon by the French printer Germão Galharde, the book enjoyed the support of the Portuguese royal family, especially the then king D. Manuel I, and his son Prince D. João (the future João III), whom the author came to serve as ‘moço da guarda roupa’.

With this chronicle, Barros intended to glorify the Portuguese crown by weaving together a number of historical and fictitious elements.<sup>1</sup> In his prologue, the author certainly gives the impression that he uses historical sources, alluding to chronicles such as that of Diego de Valera. However, he also incorporates more inventive narratives – for instance the sage Fanimor’s prophecies. Thus, in octave rhyme, we are offered verses telling of Clarimundo’s offspring – the ancestor of all Lusitanian kings from Afonso VI and Afonso Henriques to contemporaries such as Manuel I and João III. The chronicle also

1 Tobias Brandenberger, ‘Ficção e legitimação no *Clarimundo* de João de Barros’, in D. Buschinger et al. (eds.), *Discursos de legitimação. Actas (Discours de légitimation- Actes)* (Lisboa: Universidade Aberta, CD-ROM, 2003). The research for this chapter is included in the Competition Researcher FCT 2012 (Ref. IF/01502/2012): *Base de dados interactiva sobre a Matéria Cavaleiresca Portuguesa dos séculos XVI–XVIII*, developed in the *Seminário Medieval de Literatura, Pensamento e Sociedade* (SMELPS), Instituto de Filosofia, Universidade de Porto (UI&D 502).

tells of the legendary origins of Lusitania and the arrival of the Trojan hero Aeneas. Barros gives his book a clear ideological and political purpose, to help build the national identity of the Lusitanian people.

Very different from the work of Barros, and closer to chivalric genres created by Garci Rodríguez de Montalvo's *Amadis of Gaul*, we find the famous *Crónica do famoso e muito esforçado cavaleiro Palmeirim de Inglaterra*, written by Francisco de Moraes (c.1500–c.1576).<sup>2</sup> Its first edition was printed around 1544 and we do not know the place of publication, but it may have been on a French press, since the author was in France as secretary of Ambassador D. Francisco de Noronha, son of the Count of Linhares.<sup>3</sup> This time, the dominant theme in the book is the struggle between Christians and Muslims, and the crusading spirit that was so ingrained in a sixteenth-century mentality fearful of the looming Ottoman threat in the east and in the Mediterranean. The Christians were victorious, of course – a victory won by their fierce warriors Palmerín de Inglaterra and Florian del Desierto, two brothers who were the central protagonists of the novel.

The printer João de Barreira published *Memorial das Proezas da Segunda Távola Redonda* (Coimbra, 1567), written by the playwright Jorge Ferreira de Vasconcelos (1515–1585). The work represented a return to medieval and symbolic schemes of Arthurian mythology and attempted to join an encomiastic and educational tone in a guide book for princes. The last three chapters of the book commemorated an actual historical event – the tournament in Xabregas in 1552 – at which the young prince, João, received a knighthood. It is possible that the sudden death of the prince might have stopped the spread of an earlier version of this work. No known copies of this survive, but it is known to have once existed in folio with the title *Livro primeiro da primeira parte dos Triunfos de Sagrador, rey de Inglaterra e França, em que se tratam os maravilhosos feitos dos cavaleiros da Segunda Távola Redonda* (Coimbra: [João Álvares or João de Barreira?], 1554) (USTC 350857).

Between the the publication of the *Memorial das Proezas da Segunda Távola Redonda* in 1567 and the appearance in 1587 of the *Terceira e Quarta partes da Chrónica de Palmeirim de Inglaterra*, by Diogo Fernandes, there was a turning point. In Portugal, several continuations of the Amadis de Gaule series appeared, written by Feliciano de Silva, including the first three parts of

2 On the *Palmeirim de Inglaterra*, see Aurelio Vargas Díaz-Toledo (ed.), Francisco de Moraes, *Palmerín de Inglaterra* (Alcalá de Henares: Centro de Estudios Cervantinos, 2006).

3 On this issue, see M. Alpalhão, *O amor nos livros de cavalaria-O Palmeirim de Inglaterra de Francisco de Moraes: Edição e Estudo* (Lisboa: Universidade Nova de Lisboa, 2008). This author defends the thesis of it having been printed for the first time around 1544 in the French capital. The only exemplar of this edition is in the *Cigarral del Carmen*, in Toledo.

*Florisel de Niquea* (Parts I–II [Lisbon, Marcos Borges, 1566] (USTC 342633); Part 3 [Évora, heirs of André de Burgos, c. 1550]) (USTC 351948), the *Lisuarte de Grecia* (Lisbon, Afonso López, 1587, late October) (USTC 344302) and a handwritten Portuguese translation of the third part of the *Florisel* known with the title of *Crónica do príncipe Ageselao e da rainha Sidónia*, from the middle of the sixteenth century, according to codicological information.<sup>4</sup>

Considered the innovator of the chivalric genre, Feliciano de Silva created a new narrative style based on the sheer number of adventures as well as the use of wonder in order to amuse and entertain his audience. It was a genre of literature that would grow in popularity with the publication of continuations to the *Palmerín* series by Diogo Fernandes and Baltasar Gonçalves Lobato. We see the inclusion, for the first time, of humorous scenes, wonderful adventures where characters repeat their schemes over and over, where the wise lose their transcendence and the main characters their heroism, where mythology and pastoral scenes take on a greater role and, finally, where the sections in verse appear more frequently.

There were various re-editions of Barros, Moraes and Fernandes' texts. The *Crónica do Imperador Clarimundo* was reprinted both in 1555 in Coimbra by João de Barreira and in 1601 in Lisbon by António Álvares (USTC 5014587) – the former was printed at the expense of André Lopes while the latter was funded by Jerónimo Lopes. The *Palmeirim de Inglaterra* was republished in 1567 in Évora by André de Burgos (USTC 349716), and in 1592 in Lisbon by António Álvares (USTC 345327). Meanwhile, the continuation of the *Palmerim* by Diogo Fernandes appeared again in 1604, printed in Lisbon by Jorge Rodrigues (USTC 5026415).

In addition, there were also editions of Castilian books of chivalry which were printed in Portugal and intended, at least in part, to serve a Portuguese public, who had a certain predilection for stories of the cycles of *Amadis* and *Palmerín*. Leaving aside the first, of which we have touched on already, we find the *Florando de Inglaterra* printed in Lisbon by Germão Galharde in 1545 (USTC 342965), a single edition divided into three parts.<sup>5</sup> In order to avoid a

4 With respect to this point of inflection of the literature of chivalry, see Aurelio Vargas, 'Un mundo de maravillas y encantamientos: los libros de caballerías portugueses', in A. López Castro y M.L. Cuesta Torre (ed.), *Actas del XI Congreso Internacional de la Asociación Hispánica de Literatura Medieval*, celebrado en la Universidad de León del 20 al 24 de septiembre de 2005 (León: Universidad de León, 2007), pp. 1099–1108.

5 For more information about the plot of this book of chivalry, see Cristina Castillo Martínez' reading guide: *Florando de Inglaterra (Partes I–II)* (Alcalá de Henares: Centro de Estudios Cervantinos, 2001); and *Florando de Inglaterra (Parte III)* (Alcalá de Henares: Centro de Estudios Cervantinos, 2005).

very high retail cost, the work was split into two volumes. The first contained parts one and two and carried a colophon dated 20 February 1545, while part three appeared in volume two with a printing date of 20 April 1545. Thus, although produced as a unit, *Florando de Inglaterra* could be bought whole or in part.<sup>6</sup> Regarding the Palmerinian cycle, the *Palmerín de Olivia*, attributed to Francisco Vázquez, was printed in Évora probably by Cristóvão de Burgos in 1581. It was a counterfeit of the Medina del Campo edition of 1562.<sup>7</sup> The *Primaleón*, which may have been the work of the same author was printed in Lisbon on the press of Manuel Joan in 1566 (USTC 343200), and then again in 1598 on the press of Simão Lopes (USTC 345326).<sup>8</sup>

It is also important to consider lost editions which have been identified by various bibliographers. Among such works we find the *Primera parte de la Crónica de Taurismundo, hijo de Solismundo, Emperador de Grecia*, known to have been printed in Lisbon by Diego de Cibdad in 1549, and two parts of the *Clarián de Landanís* cycle: the first book of the first part, by Gabriel Velázquez del Castillo, was printed in Lisbon in 1528, and the fourth part, by Jerónimo

6 José Manuel Lucía Megías, *Imprenta y libros de caballerías* (Madrid: Ollero y Ramos, 2000), p. 297.

7 Maria José Serpa Leote Gonçalves da Silva Leal, 'Uma impressão do *Palmeirim de Oliva* feita em Évora por Cristóvão de Burgos e atribuída a Francisco del Canto, de Medina del Campo', *Separata de Publicações do XXVI Congresso Luso-Espanhol para o Progresso das Ciências, Secção VII* (Porto, 1962), p. 133. Also of interest is the following article by the same author: 'A primeira impressão do *Palmeirim de Oliva* em Évora', *Boletim de Bibliografia Portuguesa*, XXIX (1963), item 8608.

8 While not all agree, there are some researchers who would include the *Historia de Rosián de Castilla*, by Joaquín Romero de Cepeda (Lisbon: Marcos Borges, 1586) (USTC 345694), which is rather a knightly chronicle. It appears in the bibliography of Daniel Eisenberg and Mari Carmen Marín Pina, *Bibliografía de los libros de caballerías castellanos* (Zaragoza: Pressas Universitarias de Zaragoza, 2000), p. 431, n° 2029. Other authors recognize that in the shortness 'y en algunos aspectos se distancia de los libros de caballerías citados'. Lucía Megías directly excluded it from the corpus of the romances of chivalry but included it among the chivalric stories, 'ya que comparte todas las características externas de este género editorial' (José Manuel Lucía Megías, *Antología de libros de caballerías castellanos* (Alcalá de Henares: Centro de Estudios Cervantinos, 2001), p. xx. See also what Nieves Baranda says in *Historias caballerescas del siglo XVI* (Madrid: Biblioteca Castro-Turner, 1995, 2 vols.), vol. 1, pp. XXIX–LI. Of great interest is also the work of Emilio José Sales Dasí, 'Una crónica caballeresca singular del quinientos: el *Rosián de Castilla*', in J. Acebrón Ruiz (ed.), *Fechos antiguos que los cavallos en armas passaram. Estudos sobre la ficción caballeresca* (Lleida: Edicions de la Universitat de Lleida, 2001), pp. 151–190.



López, known by another name as *Lidamán de Ganail* was also printed in Lisbon in the same year.<sup>9</sup>

Finally, to complete the picture of the books of chivalry printed in Portugal, we must add the three Lisbon editions of *Quijote*, two of them printed by the astute Jorge Rodrigues, who published not only the first part (Lisbon, 1605) (USTC 5039013), but also the second (Lisbon, 1617) (USTC 5039809), while a third was published on the press of Pedro Craesbeeck, best known for his work on the work of Luís de Camões, and who carried out the second Portuguese edition of *El ingenioso hidalgo don Quixote de la Mancha* (Lisbon, 1605) (USTC 5039021).<sup>10</sup>

According to the the information offered above, we have identified eleven editions of original Portuguese works and sixteen editions of Spanish works, including lost editions. In total, then, there were twenty seven editons of chilvaric literature which appeared in Portugal between 1522 and 1617. To put it another way, there was an average of one edition of a book of chivalry printed

9 On the Taurismundo, see 'En la *Biblioteca del conde de Gondomar*, según el inventario de 1623: 'Primera parte dela Chronica de Taurismundo hijo de Solismundo Emperador de Grecia. Fº. por Diego de Cibdad. Lisboa. 1549'. Another copy is cited in the inventory of the library of Cardinal Dubois 'La *Coronica del famoso caballero Taurismundo, hijo del imperador de Grecia Solismundo*, imparfaite du titre', Torismundo es un personaje de la 3ª parte de *Espejo de Príncipes y Caballeros*', José Manuel Lucía Megías, 'Libros de caballerías castellanos: textos y contextos', *Edad de Oro*, XXI (2002), p. 60. On Clarián de Landanis, see Diego Clemencín in his *Biblioteca de libros de caballería* [sic] (*Año 1805*), ed. de J. Givanel Mas (Publicaciones cervantinas patrocinadas por Juan Sedó Peris-Mencheta, 3, Barcelona: Juan Sedó Peris-Mencheta, 1942), p. 13. On the fourth part, see Eisenberg and Marín Pina, *Bibliografía*, p. 299: 'Figura en el catálogo de Colón [1992, Askins, p. 95]. They also cite Lenglet-Du Fresnoy (1734, II, 203), and note a copy in the library of Cardinal Dubois, following G. Brunet, *Fantaisies bibliographiques* (reimpr. Ginebra: Slatkine, 1970).

10 This masterpiece of Spanish literature has been included as a chivalric narrative because in recent years it has been studied as such. For example, according to José Manuel Lucía Megías, there are several paradigms in the development of the chivalric narrative (1st paradigm: idealist [realistic proposal and experimental proposal]; 2nd paradigm: entertainment proposal). Miguel de Cervantes would have proposed a third and final paradigm called the 'Cervantes proposal' based on entertainment and structured by two main aspects: the humor and back to narrative schemes of the first decades of the sixteenth century, where the structure and likelihood had played a crucial role. See the contributions of José Manuel Lucía Megías in *Libros de caballerías castellanos: una antología* (Madrid: Ollero y Ramos y Random House Mondadori, 2004), pp. 41–44; 'Don Quijote, el mejor libro de caballerías jamás escrito', *Edad de Oro*, xxv (2006), pp. 359–369; and 'Don Quijote como un libro de caballerías: primeras imágenes, primeras lecturas', in Emma Herrán Alonso (ed.), *Recovecos de Literatura Áurea. Estudios de Literatura Hispánica de los siglos de Oro* (Oviedo: Universidad de Oviedo, 2007).

every four years. However, if we look more closely, we can identify that the high point of publication was actually limited to a far narrower date range, to between 1581 and 1605 where a book of chivalry was published, on average, every two years.

After this date, however, it would appear that printers moved away from the chivalric books towards other literary genres which were more economical to produce, requiring less capital outlay.<sup>11</sup> Portuguese printing shifted to producing genres of literature which were gaining in popularity in Spain in this period. In particular, they turned to the picaresque novel, whose success, since the appearance of *Guzmán de Alfarache* in 1599, in Madrid (USTC 334168), was truly extraordinary judging from the numerous editions and reprints that are made of each of the works forming part of this genre. These works either published in quarto or octavo meant less paper waste, and therefore saved a significant amount of money. From the last decades of the sixteenth century, the price of paper had increased quite significantly. Therefore, rather than publishing works of chivalry, it would appear that Portuguese printers turned to editions in Spanish such as Mateo Alemán's *Guzmán de Alfarache*, and his apocryphal continuation. Its publication history can be seen in the table below.

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*Guzmán de Alfarache*

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<i>First Part</i> , by Mateo Alemán	Lisbon, Jorge Rodrigues, 1600 (2 issues 1 by Luis Peres/ 1 by Sebastião de Carvalho) (USTC 348883) [in 4°] Coimbra, na Officina de António de Mariz, 1600 (USTC 342610) [in 8°]
<i>Apocryphal 2nd Part</i> , by Juan Martí	Lisbon, Jorge Rodrigues and António Álvares, 1603 (USTC 5025875) [in 8°]
<i>Second Part</i> (the only three editions authorized by the author), by Mateo Alemán	Lisbon, Pedro Craesbeeck, 1604 ( <i>editio princeps</i> ) (USTC 5009845) [in 4°] Lisbon, Pedro Craesbeeck, 1605 (USTC 5026450) [in 8°] Lisbon, António Álvares, 1605 (USTC 5023659) [in 8°]

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11 To learn more about printing in Portugal, it is essential to consult Ana Isabel Buescu's work, 'Cultura impressa e cultura manuscrita em Portugal na Época Moderna: uma sondagem', *Penélope*, 21 (1999), p. 19–32.

Portuguese printers also began to favour other literary texts which could be produced using smaller formats, such as the pastoral novel, a genre that had already proved successful in Castile since the appearance in 1559 of *Los siete libros de la Diana* by Jorge de Montemayor.<sup>12</sup> There were reissues of Castilian pastoral works in Lisbon, such as Luis Gálvez's *El pastor de Fílida* (Lisbon, Belchior Rodrigues, 1589) (USTC 342978), Miguel de Cervantes' *La Galatea* (Lisbon, 1590 and António Álvares, 1618) (USTC 345076; 5038970), or the two parts of Montemayor's *Diana* (Lisbon, Pedro Craesbeeck, 1624) (USTC 5023661). However, also printed in the first decades of the seventeenth century were works in Portuguese which, according to studies by Robert Mulinacci, belong to the same narrative genre.<sup>13</sup> The following table offers an overview of these, listing first the *editio princeps* followed by their reeditions.

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*Editio princeps*

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| 1601 | <i>A Primavera</i> , by Francisco Rodrigues Lobo<br>Lisbon, Jorge Rodrigues (USTC 5026500) [in 4°]                                   |
| 1607 | <i>Lusitânia Transformada</i> , by Fernão Álvares do Oriente<br>Lisbon, Luis Estupiñán (USTC 5043217) [in 8°]                        |
| 1608 | <i>O Pastor Peregrino</i> , by Francisco Rodrigues Lobo<br>Lisbon, Pedro Craesbeeck (USTC 5022306) [in 4°]                           |
| 1614 | <i>Desenganado</i> , by Francisco Rodrigues Lobo<br>Lisbon, António Álvares (USTC 5016390) (USTC 5020244) [in 4°]                    |
| 1622 | <i>A Paciência Constante</i> , by Manuel Quintano de Vasconcelos<br>Lisbon, Pedro Craesbeeck [in 8°]                                 |
| 1623 | <i>Ribeiras do Mondego</i> , by Eloy de Sá Sotto Maior<br>Lisbon, Pedro Craesbeeck (USTC 5023642) [in 4°]                            |
| 1626 | <i>Os Campos Elíseos</i> , by João Nunes Freire<br>Porto, João Rodrigues (USTC 5023349) [in 8°]                                      |
| 1635 | <i>Desmayos de mayo em sombras do Mondego</i> , by D. Ferreira de Figueroa<br>Vila Viçosa, Manoel de Carvalho (USTC 5024614) [in 8°] |
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12 For the Spanish area, see Cristina Martínez Castillo's anthology: *Antología de libros de pastores* (Alcalá de Henares: Centro de Estudios Cervantinos, 2005). The two classic studies of the pastoral genre remain the works of Juan Bautista Avallé Arce, *La novela pastoril española* (Madrid: Revista de Occidente, [circa 1959]); and Francisco López Estrada, *Los libros de pastores en la literatura española. La órbita previa* (Madrid: Gredos, 1974).

13 Roberto Mulinacci, *Do Palimpsesto ao Texto. A Novela Pastoril Portuguesa* (Lisboa: Edições Colibri, 1999).

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Re-editions

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<i>A primavera</i> (6 more) by Francisco Rodrigues Lobo	Lisbon, Pedro Craesbeeck, 1608 (USTC 5041407) [in 4°] Lisbon, António Álvares, 1619 (USTC 5022856) [in 4°] Lisbon, Lourenço Craesbeeck, 1633 (USTC 5034744) Lisbon, Pedro Craesbeeck, 1635 (USTC 5000980) Lisbon, António Álvares, 1651 Lisbon, António Craesbeeck de Melo, 1670
<i>O pastor peregrino</i> (3 more) by Francisco Rodrigues Lobo	Lisbon, António Álvares, 1618 (USTC 5033957) [in 4°] Lisbon, António Álvares, 1651 Lisbon, António Craesbeeck de Melo, 1670
<i>Desenganado</i> (2 more) by Francisco Rodrigues Lobo	Lisbon, António Álvares, 1651 Lisbon, António Craesbeeck de Melo, 1670

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According to Pilar Vázquez Cuesta, the increased pastoralism evident in the literature, can be attributed to a ruralisation of Portuguese culture in these years.<sup>14</sup> Not surprisingly, Vila Viçosa was becoming the cultural centre of the country in the early seventeenth century, under the rule of the Duke of Bragança, D. Teodósio II.

If we add together the editions of picaresque and pastoral works, we arrive at a total of about thirty publications in Portugal. Of these, two thirds come from the printing shops of Jorge Rodrigues, António Álvares and Pedro Craesbeeck – undoubtedly the major Portuguese producers of literary and entertainment works in this period.

Jorge Rodrigues, who worked in Lisbon from the end of the sixteenth century until around 1641, became popular due to the publication of some pirate editions of the first and second part of *Quijote* in quarto. He printed, among other books, the following works of entertainment:

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14 Pilar Vázquez Cuesta, 'La lengua y la cultura portuguesas', in José María Jover Zamora (dir.), *El siglo del Quijote. Historia de la Cultura Española 'Menéndez Pidal'* (Madrid: Espasa Calpe, 1996), II, p. 626.

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- 1600 Apocryphal 2nd Part *Guzmán de Alfarache*, by Juan Martí (alongside António Álvares) [in 8°]
  - 1601 *A primavera*, by Francisco Rodrigues Lobo [in 4°]
  - 1602 5th *Palmeirim de Inglaterra*, by B. Gonçalves Lobato (6th: Lisbon, António Álvares) [in folio]
  - 1603 Apocryphal 2nd Part *Guzmán de Alfarache*, by Juan Martí (alongside António Álvares) [in 8°]
  - 1604 3rd-4th parts *Palmeirim de Inglaterra*, by D. Fernandes [in folio]
  - 1605 1<sup>a</sup> Part of *Quijote*, by Miguel de Cervantes [in 4°]
  - 1617 2<sup>a</sup> Part of *Quijote*, by Miguel de Cervantes [in 4°]
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António Álvares ran a printing press in Lisbon between 1588 and 1600. He also collaborated with other leading printers in this period, such as Alexandre de Siqueira, Marcos Borges, António Ribeiro and Jorge Rodrigues. Álvares printed around 50 books, including:

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- 1592 *Palmeirim de Inglaterra*, by Francisco de Moraes [in folio]
  - 1601 *Clarimundo*, by João de Barros [in folio]
  - 1602 6th part *Palmeirim de Inglaterra*, by B. Gonçalves Lobato (5th: Lisbon, Jorge Rodrigues) [in folio]
  - 1603 Apocryphal 2nd part *Guzmán de Alfarache*, by Juan Martí (alongside Jorge Rodrigues) [in 4°]
  - 1605 2nd part *Guzmán de Alfarache*, by Mateo Alemán [in 4°]
  - 1614 *Desenganado*, by Francisco Rodrigues Lobo [in 4°]
  - 1618 *La Galatea*, by Miguel de Cervantes [in 4°]  
*O pastor peregrino*, by Francisco Rodrigues Lobo [in 4°]
  - 1619 *A primavera*, by Francisco Rodrigues Lobo [in 4°]
- 

There was also Pedro Craesbeeck. With Flemish roots, he learned his craft under Christophe Plantin in Antwerp. After he settled in Lisbon, he began one of the most important Portuguese dynasties of printers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Two of his three children, Paulo and Lourenço, followed in his footsteps and joined the family business. Pedro Craesbeeck, who also published a pirate edition of the first part of *Quijote*, worked both in Coimbra and Lisbon between 1597 and 1632, always using a distinctive typographical ornament of a sunflower turned towards the sun in an oval with the following

letters: *Trahit Sua Quemque Voluptas*. In the following table we can see that most of the books of literature he published were in quarto or octavo.

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1604	2nd Part <i>Guzmán de Alfarache</i> , by M. Alemán ( <i>ed. princeps</i> ) [4°]
1605	1st Part of <i>Quijote</i> , by Miguel de Cervantes [in 4°]
1605	2nd Part <i>Guzmán de Alfarache</i> , by Mateo Alemán [in 8°]
1608	<i>O pastor peregrino</i> , by Francisco Rodrigues Lobo [in 4°]
1608	<i>A primavera</i> , by Francisco Rodrigues Lobo [in 4°]
1622	<i>A Paciência Constante</i> , by M. Quintano de Vasconcelos [in 8°]
1623	<i>Ribeiras do Mondego</i> , by Eloy de Sá Sotto Maior [in 4°]
1624	<i>La Diana</i> , by Jorge de Montemayor [in 4°]
1635	<i>A primavera</i> , by Francisco Rodrigues Lobo [in 8°]

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In addition to promoting the publication of picaresque and pastoral works, Pedro Craesbeeck also printed other literary genres, most of which were again in one of the smaller formats to minimise the financial outlay required. In some cases, Craesbeeck printed books in duodecimo or vicesimo-quarto. He printed books of poetry, drama or epic, the *Rhymes* and *Lusiads* by Camões – those items which were almost guaranteed to be bestsellers.<sup>15</sup> A selection of all these can be seen in the table below:

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Poetry	<i>Rimas</i> , by Luis de Camões [11 editions: in 4° & 24°] <i>Rimas</i> , by Lope de Vega [in 4°] <i>Rimas sacras</i> , by Lope de Vega [in 8°] <i>Poemas Lusitanos</i> , by António Ferreira [in 4°] <i>Éclogas</i> , by Francisco Rodrigues Lobo [in 4°]
Epic	<i>Lusiadas</i> , by Luis de Camões [9 editions: in 4° & 24°]
Theatre	6 <i>Comedies</i> , by Lope de Vega [in 4°] <i>Comédia Aulegrafia</i> , by Jorge Ferreira de Vasconcelos [in 4°] <i>Comédia Ulissipo</i> , by J. Ferreira de Vasconcelos [in 8°]

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From the information presented above, it is possible to draw some conclusions. It seems clear that Portuguese printers gradually turned away from publishing voluminous works such as romances of chivalry, as their production was

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15 On the printer Pedro Craesbeeck's life and works, it is interesting João José Alves Dias, *Craesbeeck: uma dinastia de impressores em Portugal* (Lisboa: Associação Portuguesa de Livreiros Alfarrabistas, 1996).

relatively expensive during a period of acute economic crisis. In addition to successive wars waged by the Spanish monarchy, there was also a series of bankruptcies and currency devaluations. The purchase of raw materials such as paper became increasingly expensive. At least partially in response to rising production costs, most printers, especially those based in Lisbon such as Jorge Rodrigues, António Álvares and most importantly Pedro Craesbeeck, began to favour supporting new literary genres such as the picaresque novel, the pastoral novel, the epic or drama, which could be published in smaller formats. Such genres not only found an eager public, but also demanded a far smaller capital outlay. There was also the issue of excessive bureaucracy and of a change in the culture of oversight. With laws such as Philip II's *Pregmática* of 1558, applying for and securing licenses to publish works became more complex.<sup>16</sup> Those charged with overseeing the process also became less open to this genre. Francisco de Morais Sardinha's *História do espantoso cavaleiro da Luz*, for instance, failed to secure a license.<sup>17</sup>

However, if printers had shifted their focus away from printing chivalric works largely for practical reasons, how was the public's continued appetite for tales of knights-errant satisfied? The truth is that the authors of books of chivalry sought other ways to distribute their works, albeit to a far smaller audience. The market for manuscript chivalric books remained buoyant until the late seventeenth century. In fact, since the mid-sixteenth century, chivalric stories were already circulating in manuscript in Portuguese lands. We can find evidence of manuscript books such as the *Menina e moça*, written before 1557, or the *História de dois amigos da ilha de S. Miguel*, included in Gaspar Frutuoso's *Saudades da Terra* and written sometime in the 1570s, or indeed the anonymous *Crónica do Imperador Maximiliano*, which must have been written sometime in the second half of sixteenth century.

However, the demand for manuscript chivalric works can truly be found between the late sixteenth and the first decade of the seventeenth. This period sees, for instance, the appearance of Gonçalo Coutinho's *Duardos de*

16 For more on this topic, see the interesting work of José Manuel Lucía Megías, 'La pragmática de 1558 o la importancia del control del estado en la imprenta española', *Revista de Historia y Arte*, 4. Otoño. In memoriam José Francisco de la Peña Gutiérrez (1999), pp. 195–220; or 'El libro impreso ante el poder: claros y sombras del control ideológico', *Voz y Letra*, x/1 (1999), pp. 41–50.

17 A clear example of the difficulty of obtaining print licenses can be found in Portuguese Francisco Morais Sardinha, who tried to publish his *História do espantoso Cavaleiro da Luz* unsuccessfully, due mainly to the religious prejudices of a Desembargador do Paço, who did not like the books of chivalry. On this point, see Isabel Almeida, *Livros portugueses de cavalarias, do Renascimento ao Maneirismo* (Lisboa: Universidade de Lisboa, 1998), p. 49.

*Bretanha* – a narrative trilogy, written around 1590, which has survived to this day in no fewer than fifteen manuscripts. We can also point to the works of Tristão Gomes de Castro from Madeira (1539–1611) which included the *Leomarte de Grecia*, the *Clarindo de Grecia* and the *Argonáutica da Cavalaria* – a trilogy, of which only the last survives in just three manuscripts. The latter was probably written somewhere between 1599 and 1607. This period also saw the writing of the early version at least of the *Crónica do Imperador Belindro* – probably the work of Leonor Coutinho. Later versions may have been the work of others, perhaps Francisco de Portugal or Francisco Manoel, individuals whose names appear on some manuscript copies. Something similar happens with the fourth part of *Belindro*, certainly written after 1685 because of a clear allusions to three Spanish playwrights, such as Juan Bautista Diamante (1625–1712), Antonio de Solís (1610–1686) and Francisco Antonio Candamo (1662–1704). The entire text has been preserved in more than forty manuscripts, giving us an insight into its enormous success. Finally, we should note the work which is considered the epigone of the chivalric genre in Portugal, the anonymous *História do príncipe Belidor Anfíbio*, which has been preserved only in an incomplete fourth part in a single manuscript.

Considering both the books of chivalry that have survived, as well as those that have been lost but for which we have some record, we can demonstrate the existence of more than twenty different texts.<sup>18</sup> We have 60 surviving manuscript copies, though 40 of these are of the *Crónica do Imperador Belindro*, while fifteen others correspond to Coutinho's *Duardos de Bretanha*, many of which are seventeenth-century copies. The final five manuscript copies are divided between the *Argonáutica da cavalaria* which has three copies, and the *Crónica do Imperador Maximiliano* and the *Belidor Anfíbio*, with one copy each.

In conclusion, Portuguese printers stopped publishing books of chivalry in the early seventeenth century not because there was no longer any demand for these works from the public, but because of the general crisis of the Hispanic Monarchy. The economic realities of the age thwarted the publication of texts involving a very high financial outlay, and promoted other genres, such as the picaresque novel or pastoral novel, whose production costs were lower since they could be printed in smaller formats. In response to this, authors of books of chivalry relied on manuscript publication to disseminate their works. The distribution channel was very active throughout the seventeenth century, and beyond.

18 For a complete list of Portuguese preserved and lost books of chivalry, see Aurelio Vargas Díaz-Toledo, *Os livros de cavalaria portugueses dos séculos XVI–XVIII* (Lisboa: Pearlbooks, 2012).



# Medical Publishing in Portugal in the First Half of the Seventeenth Century: A Good Business?

*Hervé Baudry*

The title of this chapter prompts a series of questions. Was there a distinctive medical book market, and if so what did it look like within the broader world of the book? Was it Portuguese, or might we better think in Iberian or even European terms? Was medical publishing a profitable activity? Let us attempt to address these issues, and explore the connections between producers and consumers (buyers, readers, censors) and how these relationships evolved over the course of the first half of the seventeenth century.

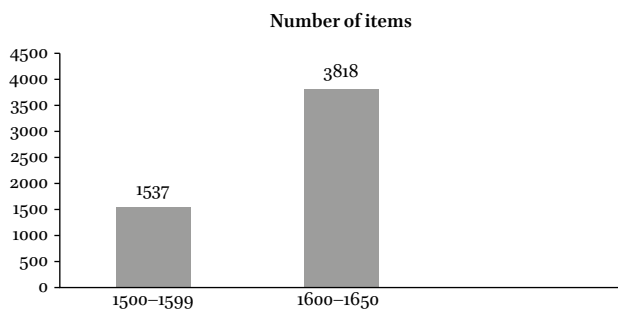
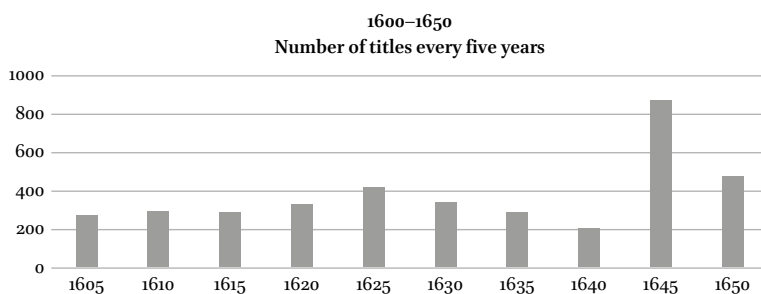
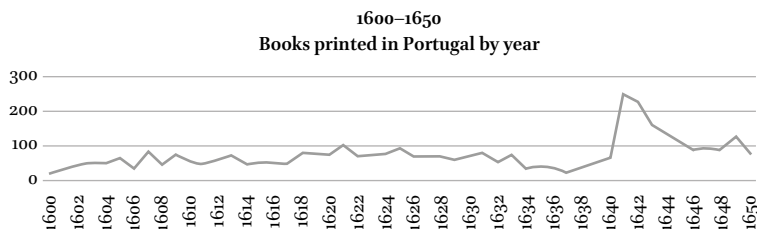
## The Portuguese Medical Book Market (1600–1650): A Question of Statistics

There was a very significant increase in overall book production over the course of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.<sup>1</sup> A simple glance at the figures for Portugal (Fig. 12.1) indicates a rise in production from 1,537 items between 1500 and 1599 to 3,818 for the first half of the seventeenth century.<sup>2</sup>

Nonetheless, there was no continuous or lineal evolution of the market. After an initial and clear increase, there was near stagnation. The highest and lowest levels of production can be observed within a very short period: 1638 saw the publication of 35 items, while 248 items were published just three years later (Fig. 12.2 and Fig. 12.3).

1 '[...] claro aumento da produção tipográfica ao longo do século', José J. Gonçalves, *A Imprensa em Coimbra no século XVII* (PhD thesis. Lisboa: Universidade Nova de Lisboa, 2010), p. 98.

2 Antonio J. Anselmo, *Bibliografia das obras impressas em Portugal no século XVI* (Lisboa: Biblioteca Nacional, 1926) lists 1312 items, while *Iberian Books* has recorded some 1,537. However, *Iberian Books* records has only one sixteenth-century medical book not contained in Anselmo. See also Alexander S. Wilkinson, 'Exploring the Print World of Early Modern Iberia', *Bulletin of Spanish Studies*, LXXXIX, 4 (2012), pp. 491–506. For seventeenth-century numbers, see *Iberian Books*.

FIGURE 12.1 *Portuguese publishing, 1500-1650.*FIGURE 12.2 *Number of titles in five year periods.*FIGURE 12.3 *Portuguese publishing, 1600-1650.*

In terms of the medical book market, 39 works were published by twenty-two authors in the first half of the seventeenth century, or an average of one item every two years.<sup>3</sup> The peak occurred during the 1640s. In general terms,

3 For a complete list, see Hervé Baudry, *Bibliografia Médica Lusa (Seventeenth-Century Portuguese Medical Book Bibliography)*, Nr. 1-37 (forthcoming). The 2 one-sheet cheap prints by Alexandrino (s.l., 1618) have not been taken into account. The total number of medical items for the sixteenth century (1556-1600) is 16 (of which 3 are reprints).

however, medical books remained a very small part of the overall market, equivalent to around 1.1 per cent of total output.

We can also adjust these figures for population size:

Portugal: 101 items were printed for the seventeenth century as a whole out of a population of 1.5 million = *circa* 0.6/10.000 inhabitants.

Spain: 728 items were printed out of a population of 6.6 million = *circa* 1/10.000 inhabitants.<sup>4</sup>

Britain and associated territories: 400 items were printed out of a population of 5.6 million = *circa* 0.8/10.000 inhabitants.<sup>5</sup>

Over the course of the seventeenth century, Portugal produced fewer medical books per capita than either Spain or the British Isles.<sup>6</sup> Of course, what was printed in a given region can only tell us so much about levels of consumption. While there was no Portuguese production whatsoever of anatomical works in the seventeenth century, this does not mean that there was no interest in the subject. There appears to have been a vibrant trade in imported books, including classical texts in Latin such as Galen, as well as more contemporary writers such as Mondini de Luzzi, Andreas Vesalius, Charles Estienne, Felix Platter, Guido Guidi, Jean Bauhin, and André Du Laurens.<sup>7</sup> More rarely, vernacular translations, principally in Spanish and Italian, also

4 222 medical items are known for the sixteenth century (totals calculated from the *Bibliographia Medica Hispanica* (Valencia: Universidad de Valencia–CSIC, 1987, vol. 2).

5 Elisabeth L. Furdell, *Publishing and Medicine in Early-Modern England* (Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 2002), p. 41; numbers based on Donald P. Wing's *A Short-title catalogue of books printed in England, Scotland and Ireland, and of English books printed abroad 1475–1640* (London: The Bibliographical Society, 1976–1991); *A Short-title catalogue of books printed in England, Scotland, Ireland, Wales, and British America, and of English books printed in other countries, 1641–1700* (New York: Modern Language Association of America, 1972–1998).

6 Noël Golvers, *Portuguese books and their readers in the Jesuit mission of China: 17th-18th centuries* (Lisboa: CCCM, 2011), p. 161 n. 228. In the eighteenth century, the French Jesuits were 'more concerned about medicine' than the Portuguese in China.

7 For Vesalius, there is one copy in Portugal of the 1543 edition (Joanina, University of Coimbra). A professor of anatomy at Coimbra, Alonso Rodrigues de Guevara published in 1559 a galenic treatise against Vesalius – *In pluribus ex iis quibus Galenus impugnatur ab Andrea Vesalio Bruxelensi in constructione et usu partium corporis humani, defensio. Et nonnullorum quae in anatome deficere videbantur supplementum* (Coimbra: apud João de Barreira, 1559, 80) (USTC 345191). For the *Reformação* of the University of Coimbra of 1612, it was stated that one or two cadavers should be given every year by the city hospital for dissection, as in Salamanca, to explain Galen's treatise *On the Use of the Parts*. See Augusto da Silva Carvalho, 'A Medicina Portuguesa no século XVII', in *Memórias da Academia das Ciências* (Lisboa: Academia das Ciências, 1941), p. 340. See also Fernando T. da Fonseca, 'A Medicina', in *História*

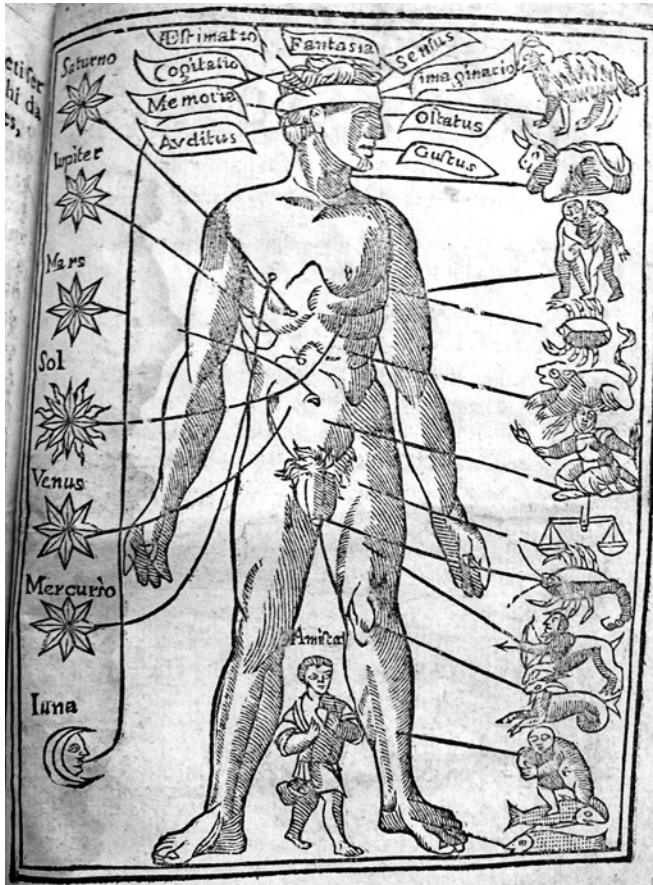


FIGURE 12.4 *Zodiac man.*

circulated – not least Vesalius' partly plagiarized *Anatomia* of Juan Valverde.<sup>8</sup> One of the reasons Portuguese printers were so reluctant to engage directly in producing such works was the heavy investment required to produce illustrations. Illustrated Portuguese medical works are incredibly rare. One example is contained in the treatise of Antonio da Cruz, where we can find an image of a zodiac man (Fig. 12.4).<sup>9</sup> Perhaps tellingly, this illustration was not reproduced

da Universidade de Coimbra (1537–1771) (Coimbra: Universidade de Coimbra–Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 1997), p. 841.

8 Juan de Valverde, *Vivae imagines partium corporis humani aereis formis expressae* (Antverpiae: ex officina Christophori Plantini, 1566, 20) (USTC 404504).

9 António da Cruz, *Recopilação de cirugia* (Lisboa: Per Jorge Rodriguez Impressor de livros, 1601, in-40), 150r. The woodcut may come from a Spanish work (see '*Amistad*' written between the legs).

in subsequent editions, but a copy does appear in the *Thesouro de prudentes* by Gaspar Cardoso Sequeira.<sup>10</sup> It is not of anatomical use. The only other illustration of which I am aware is an un-Vesalian image of a man showing the vena cava and the liver which appears in the *Correcção de abusos* published by Manuel de Azevedo in 1668.<sup>11</sup>

### Patterns of Publication

Overall, however, there appears to have been very little enthusiasm amongst Portuguese publishers and printers for producing medical texts. For the seventeenth century as a whole, we know of 76 Portuguese authors active in writing medical literature. 28 of these authors remained unpublished.<sup>12</sup> While there were 101 medical works printed in this century, we know of at least 78 unpublished manuscripts.<sup>13</sup>

In terms of what was produced during the seventeenth century, Lisbon was the largest printing centre in Portugal, and more than 70 per cent of medical texts published in the country emerged from its presses. A further 22 per cent of medical items (8 items) were published in Coimbra. Other minor centres were also active during the first half of the century: Évora, Braga and Vila Viçosa. Ostensibly, we might have expected a slightly higher figure for Coimbra, given that the country's only Faculty of Medicine had been located there since 1536. This was not the case. A similar situation existed in Salamanca which published only 9 out of 728 medical editions printed in Spain. Printers in Coimbra and Salamanca appear not to have been overly interested in their respective local academic markets. These were catered for largely through student handbooks

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- 10 The Antonia da Cruz treatise was a bestseller, going through 8 editions in the seventeenth century – 5 before 1650). For Gaspar Cardoso Sequeira, see *Thesouro de prudentes. Nova-mente tirado a luz* (Coimbra: Nicolau Carvalho, 1612, 40) (USTC 5013567), 71r; the engraving, copied with minor differences, can be seen in the six subsequent reeditions (from 1626 to 1700).
  - 11 Manuel de Azevedo, *Correcção de abusos introduzidos contra o verdadeiro methodo da medicina. Em tres Tratados* (Lisboa, Na Officina de Diogo Soares de Bulhoens, 1668, in-8o), p. 192.
  - 12 In one case, at least – Antonio Pacheco Fabião, *De hominis creatione* (1635) –, the book was fully licensed and ready to print but remained in manuscript – see Diogo Barbosa Machado, *Bibliotheca Lusitana* (Lisboa: Francisco Luiz Ameno, 1759), vol. IV, p. 52.
  - 13 In particular, the calculation was made on the basis of 'Tractatus [...]' = 1 item, which I concede tends to increase the possible number of books. See Baudry, *Bibliografia Médica Lusa*, Part II (forthcoming).

circulated in manuscript form (« *livros de letra de mão* »), made by copiers – a practice that continued well into the twentieth century called *sebentas*.

An examination of the typology of Portuguese medical texts is also revealing. Theoretical works on areas such as medical philosophy, or commentaries of classical texts accounted for 23 per cent of the output, while practical texts on subjects such as surgery and diet constituted 77 per cent. Of the 39 items, 24 were originals (61,5 per cent) and 15 were reprints (38,5 per cent) (Fig. 12.5). In two decades, from 1610 to 1630, we can see that 7 original texts appeared, whereas there were 8 editions of republished work. Interestingly, there were no reprints of theoretical works – only works of practical medicine merited subsequent editions. Over the course of the first half of the seventeenth century, the names of two authors were pre-eminent: António da Cruz and Gonçalo Cabreira with four reprints each.<sup>14</sup> Both were compilers, with the former reworking Guy de Chauliac (1298?–1368), while the latter was responsible for deftly weaving together extracts from the thirteenth-century *Thesaurus Pauperum*.<sup>15</sup>

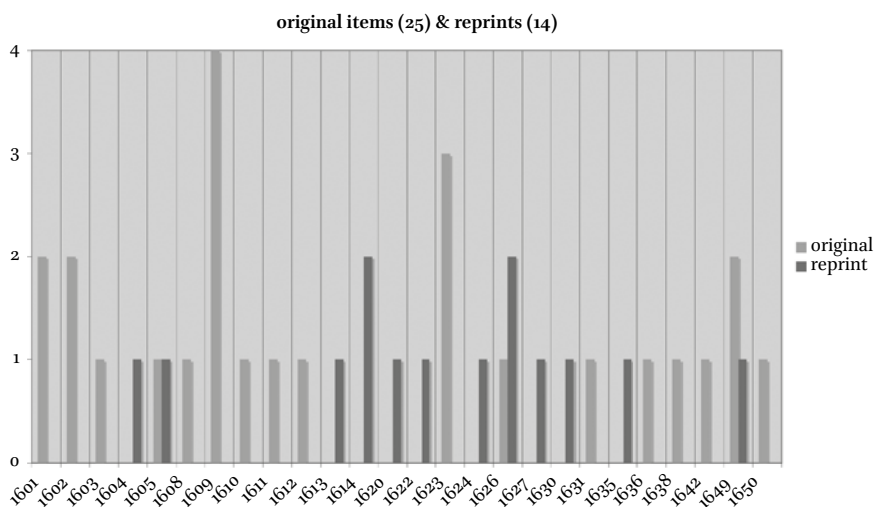


FIGURE 12.5 *Original items and reprints.*

14 The first edition was Gonçalo Rodrigues de Cabreira, *Compendio de muitos e varios Remedios de Cirugia, e outras cousas coriosas recopilados do Tesouro de Pobres e de outros graves Autores* ([Lisboa] Por Antonio Alvarez, 1611, in-8o) (USTC 5000514).

15 Francisco Guilherme Casmack calls Chauliac a “very learned Frenchman” (*Frances doutissimo*) in his *Relaçam Chyurgica de hum cazo grave a que succedeo mortificar-se hum braço* (Lisboa: por Geraldo da Vinha, 1623, in-4o) (USTC 5024199), p. 17v.

An examination of the language of the works is also revealing. If we look at all items, that is original works and reprints, 30,8 per cent were in Latin, 20,5 per cent in Spanish and 48,7 per cent in Portuguese.<sup>16</sup> If we focus only on the original works (27), 33,3 per cent were in Portuguese, 50 per cent in Latin and 16,7 per cent in Spanish. These figures tend to refute the general decline in Latin publication, a trend witnessed across Europe. But if we look beyond the number of items and look also at their size, Portuguese publishing overcomes the Latin one – 565 sheets (44,5 per cent of the total) were printed in Portuguese, and 443 sheets in Latin (35 per cent). The Spanish sheet count, in contrast, was around 225, that is a fifth of the total.<sup>17</sup> Latin remained the language used for theoretical medicine texts, including the only in-folio printed in Portugal at the time.<sup>18</sup> Manuscript medical culture was somewhat different, with, for the period from 1601 to 1700, some 65,8 per cent of known items in Latin, 30,4 per cent in Portuguese and 1 per cent in Spanish.<sup>19</sup>

The number of Spanish medical texts was not simply a consequence of the political situation of Portugal, dominated since 1580 by the Spanish Crown. It was also the result of strong cultural influence. Within the medical world itself, there were established connections between Coimbra and Salamanca, as well as the presence of Spanish physicians at the Portuguese Court.<sup>20</sup> Two Spanish medical authors were only ever printed in Portugal – António Viana and António de Castro.<sup>21</sup> It is unlikely that their works were printed in Portugal

16 One third of Portuguese items were written by Cabreira and Cruz (10 editions).

17 Results obtained from located copies (one in-folio, 26 in-40, 9 in-80).

18 Andre Antonio de Castro, *De febrium curatione libri tres* (Villaviçosae: Apud Emmanuelem Carvalho, 1636) (USTC 5023950).

19 From 1601 to 1700, there are 78 known medical manuscripts in total, 54 in Latin, 24 in Portuguese and one in Spanish (it is a double copy of Saladino Ferro's *Compendio de los buticarios* (Valladolid: Arnao Guillen de Brocar, 1515, in-40) (USTC 344340).

20 Ambrosio Nunes, or Nuñez, *Tractado repartido en cinco partes principales, que declaran el mal que significa este nombre Peste* (Conimbricæ: Diogo Gomes de Loureyro, 1601, in-4°) (USTC 5008116); *Tomus primus enarrationum in priores tres libros aphorismorum Hippocratis, cum Paraphrasi in Commentaria Galeni* (Conimbricæ: Ex Officina Didacis Gomez Loureyro, 1603, in-40) (USTC 5011562), was professor at Salamanca. In the sixteenth century, of 328 items (all fields) printed in this town, 121 were published by Portuguese authors – see Lorenzo Ruiz Fidalgo, 'Presencia de autores portugueses en la imprenta española en el siglo XVI', *Leituras. Revista da biblioteca: O livro antigo em Portugal e Espanha séculos XVI-XVIII*, 9–10 (2001–2002), pp. 245–264. See also Ian Maclean on the 'very strong institutional connection' between both universities, in his *Learning and the Market Place: Essays in the History of the Early Modern Book* (Leiden: Brill, 2009), p. 386.

21 Antonio de Viana, *Espejo de Cirurgia* (Lisboa: s.n., 1631, in-40) (USTC 5043438), with no copy known but a reprint in 1696; Andre Antonio de Castro, *De febrium curatione libri tres* (Villaviçosae: Apud Emmanuelem Carvalho, 1636, in-fol) (USTC 5023950).

solely for export. 9 copies of Castro's book can be found in Portuguese libraries, one in Madrid and London. In 1621, João da Costa, a surgeon of Lamego, far from any major urban centre, owned 13 books, 6 of which were medical texts.<sup>22</sup> 5 of those were in Spanish, including Ambrosio Nunes's treatise of 1601.

In short, the Portuguese medical book market was dominated largely by vernacular and practical medical texts, some of which were reprinted many times.

As to the circulation of books, the question of print run is always difficult to answer.<sup>23</sup> The statistics of existing copies might, however, offer us some indication of likely circulation patterns. 5 of the 39 editions (13 per cent) have no known surviving copy.<sup>24</sup> For the rest, 301 copies are known in 65 libraries (22 in Portugal) – 172 copies in Portugal, 48 in Spain and 40 elsewhere. Almost all editions have at least one copy in a Portuguese library.<sup>25</sup> It would appear then that most books printed in Portugal were destined for the domestic market.<sup>26</sup> Before 1650, Lisbon was already the dominant centre of Portuguese printing, responsible for at least three quarters of all production.<sup>27</sup> The capital was not,

22 Rita Marquilhas, *A Faculdade das Letras. Leitura e escrita em Portugal no séc. XVII* (Lisboa: IN-CM, 2000), pp. 185–186.

23 Jorge Peixoto, 'Aspectos económicos do livro em Portugal no século XVI', *Gutenberg Jahrbuch* (1965), pp. 142–149.

24 Two original texts: João Bravo Chamisso, *De capitis vulneribus liber* (Coimbra: per Didacum Gomes de Loureiro, 1610, in-40) (USTC 5000561); Antonio de Viana, *Espejo de Cirurgia* (Lisboa: s.n., 1631, in-40) (USTC 5043438) and three reprints: Oliva Sabuco, *Nueva Filosofia* (Braga: por Fructuoso Loureço de Basto, 1612, in-160); Gonçalo Cabreira, *Compendio de muitos e varios remedios de cirurgia* (Lisboa: por Antonio Alvarez, 1614, in-80) (USTC 5042147); João Valverde, *Parecer do doutor Valverde, sobre a sangria do pe* (Lisboa: por Geraldo da Vinha, 1627, in-40) (USTC 5001255).

25 Cabreira's first edition of the *Compendio de muitos e varios remedios de cirurgia* ([Lisboa:] por Antonio Alvarez [the father], 1611, in-80) (USTC 5000514) is located in the Mindlin Collection (São Paulo, Brazil).

26 This analysis of medical book production rather goes against Thomas Earle's optimistic conclusions which oppose the suggestion of Portuguese backwardness, see his 'Portuguese Scholarship in Oxford in the Early Modern Period: The Case of Jerónimo Osório (Hieronymus Osorius)', *Bulletin of Spanish Studies*, LXXXI, 7–8 (2004), p. 1046.

27 On publishing in Northern Portugal, production almost completely stops after 1650. See Marina de Matos, 'Impressores, editores e livreiros no Porto do século XV ao século XVIII', *Arquivo de bibliografia portuguesa*, Nr. 61–62 (1970), pp. 105–120; Henrique Tavares Castro and Maria A.C. Maia, 'Produção impressa entre Douro e Minho nos sécs. XVII e XVIII', *O Colóquio sobre o livro antigo, Lisboa 1988, Actas* (Lisboa: Biblioteca Nacional, 1992), pp. 187–205; and Lourenço de Sousa, 'Apontamentos bio-bibliográficos sobre os impressores e livreiros bracarense nos séculos XVII e XVIII', *Museu. Revista de Arte*, vol. 4 (1995), pp. 81–96.



however, well connected to international markets and to the wider academic public.<sup>28</sup> That is not to say, however, that Portuguese scholarship did not have some international reach. Take, for instance, Duarte Madeira Arrais. A chapter of his Latin work printed in 1650 and entitled *De arboris vitae paradisi qualitibus*, was translated into English and included in Roger Bacon's *The Cure of Old Age* in 1683.<sup>29</sup> Two other Portuguese authors were also well disseminated – Ambrosio Nunes and Fernão Cardoso.<sup>30</sup> Both authors were late representatives of medical humanism, and wrote in Latin.

Who were the buyers and the readers of medical books? Obviously, demand came first from those with a professional interest in this type of literature.

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- 28 César Manrique's investigations in this volume demonstrate that Lisbon was not on the export route from Flanders. From his investigations of the Beitang Library, China, Golvers (*op. cit.*, pp. 58 and 73) points out the 'much manipulated' book of Sequeira, *Thesouro de prudentes* (Coimbra: Nicolau Carvalho, Jorge Rodrigues, 1612 or 1626, in-40) (USTC 5013567) and three books by Portuguese physicians around the 1670s: Manuel de Azevedo, *Correcção de abusos introduzidos contra o verdadeiro methodo da medicina* (Lisboa: Na Officina de Diogo Soares de Bulhoens, 1668, in-8°); António Teixeira, *Epitome das noticias astrologicas para a medicina* (Lisboa: Na Officina de Joam da Costa, 1670, in-4°); Francisco Morato Roma, *Luz da Medicina, pratica racional, e methodica* (Lisboa: Antonio Crasbeeck de Mello, 1672, in-40); see also *Libraries of Western learning for China. Circulation of Western Books between Europe and China in the Jesuit Mission* (ca. 1650–ca. 1750). 1 *Logistics of book acquisition and circulation* (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2013).
- 29 Duarte Madeira Arrais, *Novæ Philosophiæ et medicinæ de qualitibus occultis* (Ulyssipone: Typis Emmanuelis Gomes de Carvalho, 1650, in-40) (USTC 5015029), vol. 2, Disputatio 8, pp. 737–818. *The cure of old age, and preservation of youth. By Roger Bacon, a Franciscan frier. Translated out of Latin; with annotations, and an account of his life and writings. By Richard Browne, M.L. Coll. Med. Lond. Also a physical account of the tree of life, by Edw. Madeira Arrais. Translated likewise out of Latin by the same hand* (London: printed for Tho. Flesher at the Angel and Crown, and Edward Evets at the Green Dragon, in St Pauls Church-yard, 1683, in-8o), 'A Piece useful for Divines as well as Physicians' (title page of the treatise); in the letter to the reader, Browne alludes to the daughter of João IV, Catarina de Bragança, who married Charles II in 1662.
- 30 Ambrosio Nunes (*Tractado repartido en cinco partes principales, que declaran el mal que significa este nombre Peste* (Conimbricæ: Diogo Gomes de Loureyro, 1601, in-40) (USTC 5008116); *Tomus primus enarrationum in priores tres libros aphorismorum Hippocratis, cum Paraphrasi in Commentaria Galeni* (Conimbricæ: Ex Officina Didacis Gomez Loureyro, 1603, in-40) (USTC 5011562), with, respectively, 36 and 10 copies located. Ferdinandus Rodericus Cardoso, *Tractatus de sex rebus non naturalibus nunc primum in lucem editus* (Ulyssipone: Ex officina Georgii Rodriguez, 1602, in-40) (USTC 5006643). His work was reedited in Francfort (typis Pauli Jacobi, 1620, in-8o) (USTC 2005701) and he published another treatise in Italy, *Methodus medendi* (Venetiis: apud Vincentium Somaschum, 1618, in-40) (USTC 4027815).



FIGURE 12.6 *The binding of a copy of Cabreira.*

We found one example earlier – Jerónimo da Costa, the surgeon from Lamego who owned six medical books, from a total of 13, two of which were printed in Portugal, while the other four were printed in Spain.<sup>31</sup> In addition, institutions also sought out medical literature – not least hospitals, convents, and colleges. One of the most important Portuguese medical libraries was the *botica* of the monastery of Santa Cruz in Coimbra. The binding of a copy of Cabreira (Fig. 12.6), made of an antiphonary, may reflect its common use within a religious *milieu*.<sup>32</sup>

31 Ambrosio Nunes, *Tractado repartido en cinco partes principales, que declaran el mal que significa este nombre Peste* (Conimbricæ: Diogo Gomes de Loureyro, 1601, in-40) (USTC 5008116); António da Cruz, *Recopilação de cirugia*, (Lisboa: Por Antonio Alvarez, A custa de Hieronymo Lopez mercador de livros, 1605, in-80) (USTC 5034959).

32 *Compendio de muitos e varios remedios* (Lisboa: por Antonio Alvarez, 1635, in-80) (USTC 5024908). The copy at the Biblioteca Pública de Braga (Res. 151 <sup>(2)</sup> A) is bound with three Portuguese books of seventeenth-century religious poetry.

### The Portuguese Market within an Iberian Context

From 1580 until 1640 was the period of the Dual Monarchy. The king of Spain was also ruler of Portugal.<sup>33</sup> The statistics in the overall Portuguese book market showed extremes of production in the 1640s, a depression followed by a peak around 1641–1642 – the recovery of independence. Politics may have had some influence in medical publication too. Authorship and individual strategies for publication are determined in part by events, and by physicians looking for protectors and charges in the new state.<sup>34</sup>

As Ana Paula Megiani has observed, ‘few people read, the Inquisition is on watch, but books increase’.<sup>35</sup> In the early 1600s, Tridentine procedures for the control of books and ideas, for their prohibition or expurgation, exerted their influence on the book market. Unlike in other parts of Europe, printing never became an instrument of controversial ideas in Portuguese society.<sup>36</sup>

The Iberian book market as a whole was tightly dependent on the controlling system, from authors to readers. The biggest contribution to Portuguese medicine in the Renaissance came from migrants, mainly Sephardim, who preferred exile to forced conversion or *conversos* eager to relive the mosaic faith. The ‘*Lusitani*’ referred to by some local authors as ‘*nostris*’ came back home between the covers of printed books.<sup>37</sup> Manuel Brudo, Rodrigo de Castro, Estevão Rodrigues de Castro, Rodrigo da Fonseca, Felipe/Elijah Montalto, and others, belonged to the Portuguese medical diaspora. Amato Lusitano and Zacuto Lusitano, indexed in the expurgatories, circulated under hard control in Portugal.<sup>38</sup>

33 See Jean-Frédéric Schaub, *Portugal na Monarquia Hispânica (1580–1640)* (Lisboa: Livros Horizonte, 2001).

34 Duarte Madeira Arrais, *Methodo de conhecer e curar o morbo gallico* (Lisboa: Na officina de Lourenço de Anveres, 1642, in-40) (USTC 5023320), 8v. Thanks to João IV, the Restorer, ‘Portugal recovered health’ on 1 December 1640.

35 Ana Paula Megiani, ‘Imprimir, regular, negociar: elementos para o estudo da relação entre Coroa, Santo Ofício e Impressores no Mundo Português (1500–1640)’, *Anais de História de Além-mar*, 7 (2006), p. 250.

36 Megiani, ‘Imprimir, regular’, pp. 236–237.

37 See Ian Maclean, *op. cit.*, Chapter 13: ‘*Lusitani periti*’: Portuguese medical authors, national identity and bibliography in the late Renaissance’.

38 70 per cent of the 55 surviving copies in Portuguese libraries of the widely circulated Amato Lusitano’s *Centuriae Curationum* (published 1551–1620) have been expurgated; 43 per cent for the 30 copies of Zacuto Lusitano’s (1629–1667) works.

In Portugal, authors and readers were constantly confronted with the presence of censorship. Printed books were rewritten and many reedited with a corrected text. Reading books in any field, whether in the sciences, law, theology, or humanities, was an activity that was strictly controlled. The Inquisition aimed to provide a safe reading environment, for a society ‘threatened by impurity’.<sup>39</sup> Advising the reader, some censors wrote in Latin “*tuto lege*” (read safely) on the front-page of expurgated books. The impact of their activity should not be underplayed, for it affected intellectual activity radically. If not 100 per cent of books, then certainly the majority, were controlled and individual expression was strongly determined from above. The reader was constantly reminded of the danger through marks made within the books themselves. Dissuasive and intimidating means were a permanent dimension of inquisitorial censorship in early-modern culture. Marquilhas has argued that the Inquisition adopted a weak policy on scientific publishing in Portugal.<sup>40</sup> Given the overwhelming evidence of expurgation, this argument simply cannot hold. Focused on the individual as reader, it was highly effective in Portugal.<sup>41</sup>

In what ways could the inquisitorial practices have affected the local market? In terms of medical books printed in Portugal in the first half of the seventeenth century, three titles by three authors were censored. Two of these authors were Portuguese, Gonalo Cabreira and Gaspar Cardoso de Sequeira, while the other, Oliva Sabuco, was Spanish.<sup>42</sup> As none of these authors was

39 Giuseppe Marcocci and Jos   P. Paiva, *Hist  ria da Inquisi  o Portuguesa* (Lisboa: A Esfera dos Livros, 2013), Chapter vi.

40 Manuela D. Domingos, ‘Visitas do Santo Of  cio   s naus estrangeiras. Regimento e quotidianos’, *Revista da Biblioteca Nacional* (1993), p. 155. Large evidence of expurgation leads me to conclude the contrary of this other assertion that ‘the inquisidores almost did not care at all about scientific books’, Henrique Leit  o and L  gia Martins, *O Livro Cient  fico dos S  culos xv e xvi. Ci  ncias F  sico-Matem  ticas na Biblioteca Nacional* (Lisboa: Biblioteca Nacional, 2004), p. 50.

41 Denouncement by individuals was fundamental – see the table in Jos   Pardo Tom  s, *Ciencia y Censura. La Inquisici  n Espa  ola y los libros cient  ficos en los siglos xvi y xvii* (Madrid: CSIC, 1991), p. 26.

42 Gonalo Cabreira, *Compendio de muitos e varios remedios de cirugia* ([Lisboa:] Por Antonio Alvarez, 1611, in-80) (USTC 5000514); Gaspar Cardoso de Sequeira, *Thesouro de prudentes* (Coimbra: Nicolau Carvalho, Jorge Rodrigues, 1612, in-40) (USTC 5013567). *Nueva Filosof  a* (Braga: Fructuoso Loureno de Basto, 1622, in-80) (USTC 5004318). Jo  o F. Arouca, *Bibliografia das obras impressas em Portugal no s  culo xvii* (Lisboa: Biblioteca Nacional, 2001–2011, 4 vol.), vol. 4, p. 28, nr. 34, knows one emission, with armorial bearings on the front-page (‘Escudo das armas do Bar  o de Alvito’) and the tax printed (‘140 reis’) and dated (5.10.1622); another emission presents two women sitting on an armillary sphere, the tax remains blank, which leads us to conclude that this was the first emission. On the

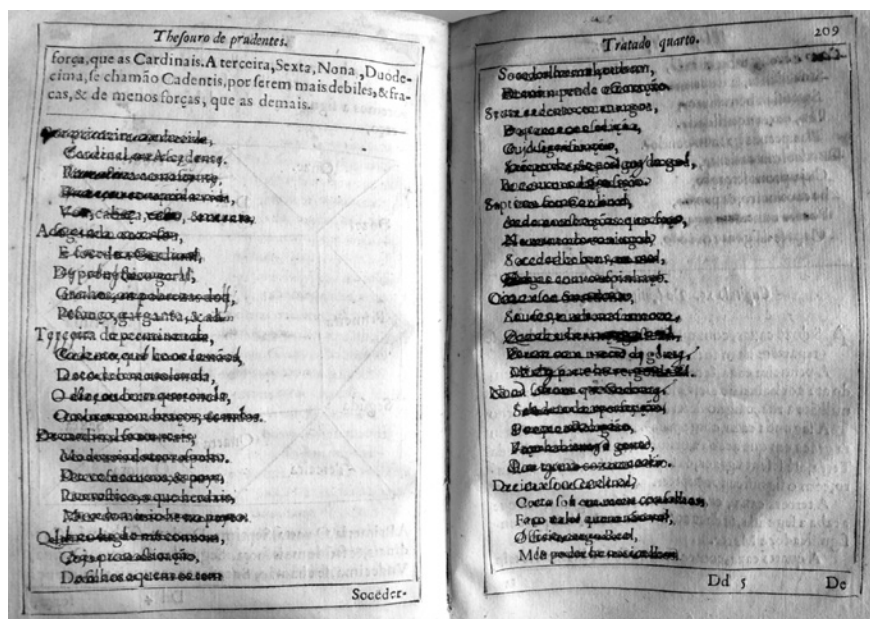


FIGURE 12.7 Parts of copies of Sequeira which have been erased.

deemed heretical, they did enter the second class of the Lisbon Index in 1624.<sup>43</sup> They could also be found in the Spanish Indices of 1632 (Seville) and 1640 (Madrid).<sup>44</sup> In Fig. 12.7, we can see parts of the copies of Sequeira which have been erased.<sup>45</sup> Sabuco's re-edition published in Braga (1622) was the expurgated version of the previous editions printed in Spain in 1587 and 1588.<sup>46</sup> The case of Cabreira's treatise is more complex due to the expurgating process which likely begun at the time of the fourth impression of 1617, then dated 1624.<sup>47</sup> Except for these three censored books, only two other medical works

question of the book's authorship, Oliva, and not her father, Miguel Sabuco, see Esther Maria Villegas de la Torre, *Women and the Republic of Letters in the Luso-Hispanic World, 1447–1700* (PhD, University of Nottingham, 2011, pp. 131–139).

43 *Index Auctorum damnatae memoriae. Tum etiam librorum, qui vel simpliciter, vel ad expurgationem usque prohibentur, vel denique expurgati permittuntur* (Ulyssiponae: ex off. Petri Craesbeck, 1624, in-fol.) (USTC 5015927).

44 *Novus index librorum prohibitorum et expurgatorum* (Hispani: ex typogr. F. de Lyra, 1632, in-fol.) (USTC 5007741), *Novissimus librorum prohibitorum ex expurgandorum index* (Madrid: Ex Typographae Didaci Diaz, 1640, in-fol.) (USTC 5006733).

45 The passage to expurgate (Lisbon Index, 595) is a poem of astrological content.

46 Four of the five copies existing in Portuguese libraries were expurgated.

47 The licensing process had two phases: October 1616–January 1617, October 1624.

author, date of printing	original (O), reprint (R)	licensing (1st and last) year/month/day	from licensing to printing (= : max. 12 months)
Cruz 1601	O	1601/03-05	=
Nunes 1601	O	1600/03-07	=
Lopes 1602	O	1601/12/14	=
Cardoso 1602	O	1696/05-1699/04	3
Nunes 1603	O	1698/01-06	5
Chamisso 1605	O	1602/10-1605/05	2-3
Cruz 1605	R	1604/11	=
Ramires 1608	O	1608/08	=
Sequeira 1612	O	1608/09-1611/12	3
Cabreira 1613	R	1612/11-12	=
Cruz 1620	R	1619/08-1620/04	1
Sabuco 1622	O	1616/10-1622/10	5
Abreu 1623	O	1621-11/1622/01	1-2
Casmack 1623	O	1623/04-05	=
Cabreira 1624	R	1616/10-1624/10	8
Fonseca 1626	O	1625/11-1626/03	=
Sequeira 1626	R	1625/09-1626/01	=
Cabreira 1635	R	1635/03-06	=
Castro 1636	O	1624/12-1635/08	11
Arrais 1638	O	1638/01-02	=
Arrais 1642_1	O	1641/06-1642/02	1-2
Arrais 1642_2	O	1641/08-1642/07	1
Bracamonte 1642	O	1642/06-10	=
Cruz 1649	R	1648/05-07	=
Arrais 1650	O	1649/08-12	=

FIGURE 12.8 *Licensing information.*

were not printed within the year of the first license. As shown in Fig. 12.8, with a total of 25 items (showing licensing data), 8 exceeded one year, that is 32 per cent, of which two were subjected to expurgation (Sabuco and Cabreira). Perhaps other factors, still to be studied, would help clarifying the disparities.

Clearly, then, at least for the period under discussion, Inquisitorial bureaucracy did not seem to slow down medical book production, nor significantly hamper editorial activity. The concentration of the printing industry in Lisbon, in close proximity to the key decision makers, may even have aided the efficiency of the process.<sup>48</sup> Licensing procedure (which generally took a matter

48 Another factor to be taken into account on this issue is the comparatively small role played by the university, linked with the major role of practical vernacular medical books. This point is inspired by the study on the diffusion of learned medicine in Maclean (*op. cit.*, Chap. 4, in part. pp. 63-65).

of months) did not paralyze printing, but, beyond extending the production time, it could prohibit the circulation of texts and control its contents.<sup>49</sup>

In terms of the importation of suspect works, any survey of copies held in Portuguese library collections today, or indeed of historical catalogues, leads us to the conclusion that heterodox ideas from Northern Europe, like paracelsian and iatrochemical treatises, began to circulate significantly only from the very late seventeenth century onwards.<sup>50</sup> Before this point, any debate on these matters was very limited and references in Portuguese writings are scarce until the end of the seventeenth century.<sup>51</sup> Due to the system of control, such an innovative and productive discipline as chemical medicine, was almost entirely absent from the Portuguese market.

An example of the depressed development of the Portuguese market is given, *a fortiori*, by Garcia de Orta's *Coloquios dos simples* printed in Goa (India) in 1563, one of the rare places in the Portuguese 'Empire' – alongside Macau and Japan – where printing was authorized. Never printed in his native country before the nineteenth century, Orta's extraordinary success was originally due to a Latin translation by Charles de l'Écluse (Clusius) published four years later in Antwerp. Mostly it was translations (in Latin, Spanish, French and Italian), printed outside of Portugal, which circulated. Portuguese libraries own six copies of the original and at least thirty copies of the translated versions. When then was there no edition printed in Portugal, perhaps with some revisions? The reason is straightforward. Orta's daughter, Catarina, was condemned by the Goan Inquisition. Orta's own cadaver was exhumed and burnt in 1580. No actual links exist between the processes and the book. As a heretic, that is a

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49 Taxing puts an end to the licensing process but, probably, some books circulated before being taxed. Some items of the second half of the century show that taxing remains blank. A last remark: taxes are commonly used to evaluate the price of the paper. In one case, at least, it may reflect a policy on books: if we calculate in terms of sheets, Cabreira's *Compendio* (Lisboa : por Antonio Alvarez, 1635, in-8o) (USTC 5024908) is about 3 times more heavily taxed than Arrais, *Apologia em que se defendem humas sangrias de pes* (Lisboa: Antonio Alvares, 1638, in-4o) (USTC 5039447) – both taxed 500 reis according to 11 and 28 sheets respectively.

50 In João Curvo Semedo's *Polyanthea Medicinal. Noticias Galenicis e Chymicas* (Lisboa: Miguel Deslandes, 1697, in-fol.) the censor Manuel Soares Brandão argues in favour of the conciliation of Hippocratic and chemical medicine, but does not mention Paracelsus.

51 Hervé Baudry, 'The question of the early reception of Paracelsus and Paracelsianism in Portuguese medicine' (paper presented at the conference 'Portuguese Physicians in the Early Modern Period Geographical Expansion and Medical Prudence', The Warburg Institute, University of London, 18–19 February 2011; to be published).

Protestant, Clusius, the translator of the Antwerp edition of 1567 was listed in the Spanish Index of 1632.

Except for a very few profitable texts, the Portuguese publishing world of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was not particularly interested in medicine. In fact, it represented just one per cent of total production. Many aspects of the circulation of medical works remain obscure, not least the extent to which such texts were imported from outwith the Peninsula. Some Portuguese authors certainly contributed, and in significant ways, to the advancement of medical understanding – not least Aleixo de Abreu on scurvy and Francisco Soares Foyo on yellow fever.<sup>52</sup> However, in general, the picture is rather more bleak. Original editions of theoretical medicine tend to give way to practical medicine which were reprinted. This pattern can be linked directly to the decline of Renaissance humanism. New scientific breakthroughs, not least that represented by the new chemical school launched by Theophrastus Paracelsus (1493 or 1494–1541), remained almost unremarked upon in Portuguese medical literature until the very end of the seventeenth century.

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52 On scurvy, see *Tratado de las siete enfermedades* (1623) (USTC 5016890) and Rosa, *Trattado unico da Constituiçam pestilencial de Pernambuco* (1694). On yellow fever, see *Recopilaçam de cirugia* (1649) (USTC 5004987).



## The Golden Age of the Single Event Printed Newsletter: *Relaciones de sucesos*, 1601–1650

*Henry Ettinghausen*

Andrew Pettegree's brilliantly wide-ranging new book, *The Invention of News. How the World Came to Know About Itself*, traces the history of news from the Romans, through the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, to the mostly weekly printed corantos and gazettes of the seventeenth century and to the weeklies and dailies of the eighteenth.<sup>1</sup> In between the Romans and the eighteenth century, it takes in the pre-periodical printed news, which took off soon after the invention of printing and turned what had previously been the private, or small-scale, interpersonal oral or manuscript communication of information – largely amongst an elite of rulers, churchmen and merchants – into the beginnings of a Europe-wide information industry capable of connecting with an anonymous mass readership, contributing to the awareness of a wider world, and creating and moulding public opinion.

Before Pettegree's book, the pre-periodical printed news had received far less attention than it deserves. That is largely because, from the early 1620s onwards, the periodical press quite rapidly became the dominant model of printed news and was to father, or at least grandfather, the newspapers and magazines that we read today. However, for nearly 150 years, from the end of the fifteenth century until the beginning of the seventeenth, the press had consisted almost entirely of non-periodical news pamphlets and broadsides, often drafted in the form of dispatches or letters and nearly always treating a single event. They derived from an age-old tradition of letter writing and reporting – especially by diplomats, missionaries, soldiers, spies and businessmen – a practice that continued long after news started going into print. Many news pamphlets were written in verse and were intended to be recited in public, playing on the amazement or horror of the audience. The opinions they expressed represented the Establishment – they did not just pretend to provide

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information, but 'structured' reality by picking out those events that would figure as news and by rhetorically working on their consumers. By the end of the sixteenth century, and certainly in the first half of the seventeenth, single event news pamphlets had undoubtedly become one of the most widely read kinds of printed matter throughout most of Europe.

If, in general, remarkably little notice has been taken of the non-periodical press, in Spain – where it remained the predominant news medium until after the middle of the seventeenth century – it has received a great deal of attention. Indeed, in the 1990s, academic interest in the pre-periodical pamphlets – known in Spanish as *relaciones de sucesos* – led to the creation of the only scholarly association I know of that is entirely devoted to their study, the 'Sociedad Internacional para el Estudio de las Relaciones de Sucesos' which, to date, has put on seven international conferences.<sup>2</sup>

The news topics covered by the *relaciones de sucesos*, like their equivalents in other countries, include: battles, peace treaties and geographical discoveries; conversions, beatifications, canonisations, martyrdoms and *autos de fe*; royal births, marriages, journeyings, ceremonies and deaths; storms, floods, earthquakes, volcanic eruptions and fires; miracles, bloody crimes, the birth of conjoined twins and other malformed humans; exotic animals, fantastical monsters and dire doings of witches and the devil; as well as sports, such as bullfights, tournaments and quintain.<sup>3</sup> In this chapter we shall be addressing the Spanish press in the first half of the seventeenth century, the period acclaimed as the high point of the Golden Age of Spanish culture, a half-century that also saw the Golden Age of the *relación de sucesos*, as well as attempts to adjust the Spanish model to new developments in news publication taking place in northern Europe.

The first half of the seventeenth century was, for Spain, a period of financial insolvency, self-doubt and self-criticism, with *arbitristas* publishing diverse remedies for the systemic ills afflicting the most powerful nation in Europe. The period sees concern with current realities ousting medieval or simply unreal fantasies – the eclipse of the idealised worlds of the books of chivalry and of pastoral fiction and the rise of the picaresque novel. By contrast, in a climate of crisis and unrest, the *relaciones de sucesos* trumpeted the glamour and

2 See <http://www.bidiso.es/SIERS/>, which includes a digital bibliography of *relaciones de sucesos*, a bibliography of secondary material, and access to the digital published conference papers of the SIERS.

3 While only the Spanish press reported bullfights, news of witches and bizarre celestial apparitions were less popular in Spain than elsewhere. Amongst the exceptions is a *relación*, published in Cordova in 1609, on the arrest and punishment there of five witches (USTC 5029733).

prestige of the Baroque court, with its multimedia spectacles and festivities, the power of the Church, with its vibrant Catholic Reformation ceremonies and celebrations, and Spain's military triumphs in Europe and beyond. News of military defeats, public disorder, food shortages, the plague, kidnappings, elopements, student riots, confidence tricks, armed robbery, and so forth was censored or self-censored out of the press and circulated only by word of mouth, in private correspondence and in the confidential manuscript news services provided by writers such as José Pellicer (between 1639 and 1644) and Jerónimo de Barrionuevo (between 1654 and 1658).

### Production and Survival

In order to put into perspective the output of the press in Spain for the period 1601–1650, we need to have some idea of where we are coming from. However, figures for the preceding period are still fairly unclear. Quite apart from the fact that it is impossible to know how many, and which, *relaciones de sucesos* disappeared without trace – it must have been a huge majority – we have not even got a complete bibliography of extant items. None the less, it is worth noting what the main bibliographies we have tell us about surviving *relaciones*.

Until recently, virtually all we had to go on were Mercedes Agulló y Cobo's classic bibliography, published in 1966, which includes 372 *relaciones de sucesos* printed in Spanish up to 1600; the *Biblioteca Digital de Relaciones de Sucesos* (BDRS), based at the University of La Coruña, which includes 148; the 132 *relaciones* in verse studied by María Sánchez Pérez; and the exhaustive, but as yet unpublished, data for Catalonia produced by Ricard Expósito, which amount to 45.<sup>4</sup> Whilst it has to be noted that several of these sources include items repeated in the others, taken together they offer the basis for a very rough idea of extant *relaciones de sucesos* printed up to 1600. Now, however, thanks to Alexander Wilkinson and his team working on *Iberian Books*, those statistics can be further supported and completed and will, in the future, be refined.<sup>5</sup>

4 Mercedes Agulló y Cobo, *Relaciones de sucesos I: Años 1477–1619* (Madrid: CSIC, 1966). The BDRS Project can be viewed at <http://rosalia.dc.fi.udc.es/RelacionesSucesosBusqueda/> (accessed April 2014). See too María Sánchez Pérez, *Las relaciones de sucesos en pliegos sueltos poéticos del siglo XVI. Estudio cultural y literario*, doctoral thesis approved *cum laude* in 2006 at the University of Salamanca; and Ricard Expósito, *Informació i persuasió: en els orígens de la premsa catalana (c. 1500–1750)*, doctoral thesis approved *cum laude* in 2014 at the University of Girona.

5 *Iberian Books* is an open-access resource and can be found at <http://iberian.ucd.ie/>.

YEARS	<i>Agulló</i> <sup>6</sup> (general)	<i>BDRS</i> (general)	<i>Sánchez</i> (verse)	<i>Expósito</i> (Catalonia)	<i>Iberian Books</i> (general)
1470–1520	22	2	3	1	22
1521–1550	69	4	10	0	98
1551–1560	31	10	7	1	47
1561–1570	24	15	9	5	50
1571–1580	51	22	22	10	72
1581–1590	41	22	35	3	105
1591–1600	102	67	46	25	180

Very schematically, and assuming – and this is a colossal assumption – that there is a reasonably close relationship between production and survival, this information can be summarised as follows: in the years prior to 1520, the printing of news pamphlets in Spain gets under way very slowly (an average of half a *relación* per year survives); in the following three decades there is a marked increase, although not yet in Catalonia; between 1571 and 1590, we see a progressive, although uneven, increase; and then, in the last decade of the century, a remarkable leap forward.

The pattern of a gradual, though uneven, increase in figures as the century progressed is made clear by a graph taken from *Iberian Books* (see Fig. 13.1).

However, it must be stressed that what we have here is only what we have, i.e. figures for catalogued extant items. To what extent the survival figures for this period – or indeed for the next – reflect the production figures is anyone's guess.

For the first half of the seventeenth century, we witness the culmination and the decline of the *relación de sucesos*. In the first decade of the century, there is roughly a doubling of the figures for the last decade of the sixteenth – to around forty surviving publications per year. In the second decade there is a further doubling; and then the extant *relaciones* rise to over 200 per year for the period 1620 to 1626, with a peak of 244 in 1625. Thereafter, from 1627 to 1637, the figures slump to around 100 per year, but they climb to well above 100 per year until 1647, with peaks of 200 in 1638 and of nearly 300 in 1641, after which they gradually fall back until 1645, remaining at around 100 per year until 1650.

As regards some of the factors involved in the rise and fall of the *relaciones de sucesos*, we can point to the following. The replacement, at the turn of the century, of Philip II's monastic Escorial for the ostentatious court of Philip III,

6 Not surprisingly, Agulló's pioneering work is incomplete and includes some items that are not, strictly speaking, *relaciones de sucesos*.

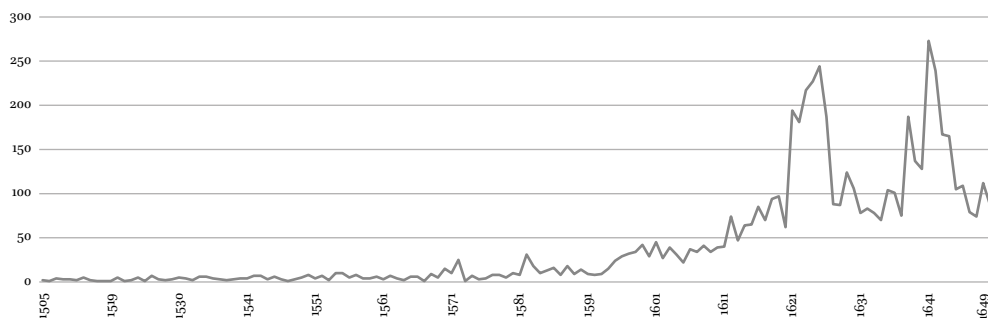


FIGURE 13.1 *Printed news items recorded in Iberian Books, 1505–1650.*

greatly stimulated publicity for events involving royalty and the nobility. The remarkable increase in *relaciones* in the 1620s can be put down, in part, to the traumatic change of government at Philip IV's accession in 1621, to the Prince of Wales's visit to Madrid in 1623, to King Philip's state visit to Andalusia in 1624, to the floods there in 1626 and to the victories of the Spanish forces at the beginning of the Thirty Years' War.<sup>7</sup> Regarding the drop between 1627 and 1637, it no doubt reflects in part the tighter government control over news publication introduced by a *pragmática* in 1627.<sup>8</sup> As for the revival in 1638, it owes a lot to the heroic relief of Fuenterrabía that year, whilst the dramatic boost in the first half of the 1640s clearly has everything to do with the revolts against Castile by the Catalans and the Portuguese.<sup>9</sup>

In this respect, it is instructive to compare the graphs for Madrid and Seville – which are reasonably similar – to the one for Barcelona (see Figures 13.2–4).

As we can see, to judge by the pamphlets that survive, all three cities reached high points in news publication in the early 1620s, but neither Madrid nor Seville made it to 80 surviving publications per year in our period, whereas Barcelona produced a glut of nearly three hundred extant *relaciones* at the beginning of the Catalan War of Secession, including more than 100 in 1641 alone.<sup>10</sup>

7 On the visit of the Prince of Wales, see Henry Ettinghausen, *Prince Charles and the King of Spain's Sister. What the Papers Said*, Inaugural Lecture (University of Southampton, 1985).

8 See Fermín de los Reyes Gómez, 'Los impresos menores en la legislación de imprenta (siglos XVI–XVIII)', in Sagrario López Poza and Nieves Pena Sueiro (eds.), *La fiesta. Actas del II Seminario de Relaciones de Sucesos* (Ferrol: Sociedad de Cultura Valle Inclán, Colección SIELAE, 1999, pp. 325–338), p. 328, n. 8.

9 Some idea of the media prominence achieved by the lifting of the siege of Fuentarrabía can be gauged by the fact that the Matevats, father and son, printed several *relaciones* in Barcelona, one of which – whose title begins *Quinta relacion* (BDRS 2593; USTC 5021346) – clearly implies a series that included four earlier reports.

10 See Henry Ettinghausen, *La Guerra dels Segadors a través de la premsa de l'època* (4 vols., Barcelona: Curial, 1993).

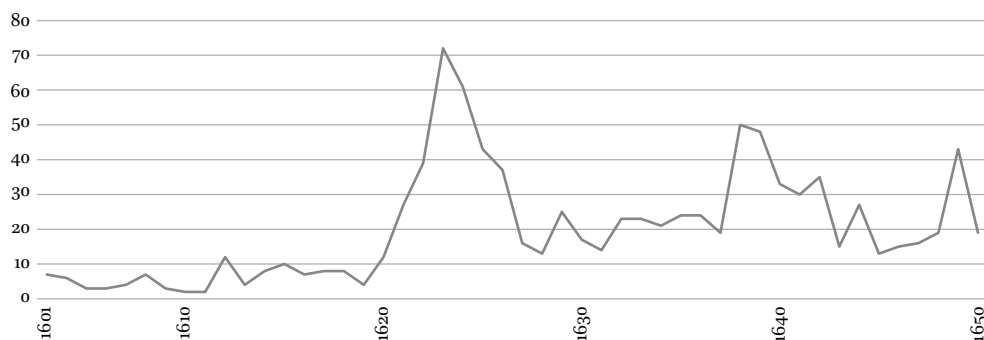


FIGURE 13.2 *News printed in Madrid recorded in Iberian Books, 1601–1650.*

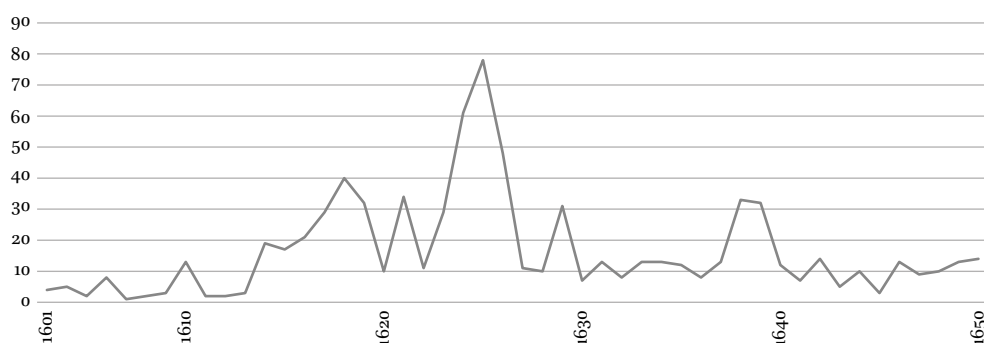


FIGURE 13.3 *News printed in Seville recorded in Iberian Books, 1601–1650.*

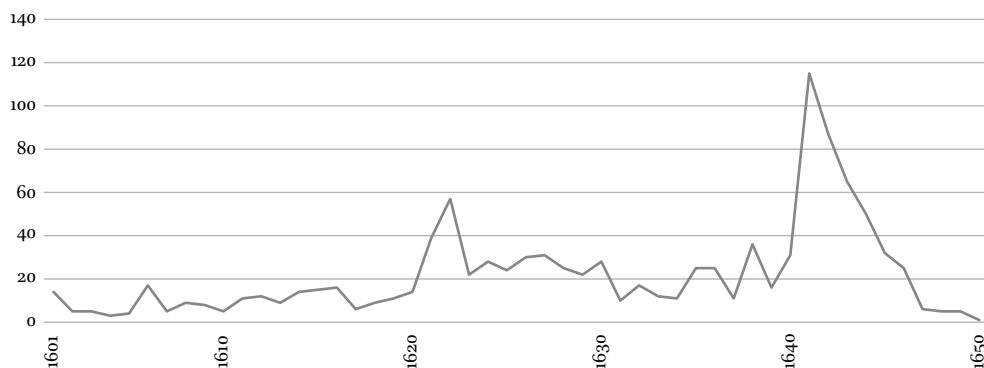


FIGURE 13.4 *News printed in Barcelona recorded in Iberian Books, 1601–1650.*

In contrast to Madrid and Seville, Barcelona's figures slump at the end of the 1640s, when the War of Secession started going wrong for the Catalans.

Whilst we shall have to wait a while for *Iberian Books* to complete its survey of the second half of the seventeenth century, two sets of figures provide a foretaste of what can be expected. The (admittedly very incomplete) statistics produced so far by the *Bibliografía Digital de Relaciones de Sucesos* (BDRS)

show overall a fairly gradual decline in the second half of the century, whilst the very full figures for Barcelona adduced by Ricard Expósito show a total of over 350 surviving items for the 1640s, plummeting to a pathetic 19 items (i.e. a mere 5 per cent) for the whole of the 1650s, only recovering to 100 for the 1680s. The Golden Age of the *relaciones de sucesos* seems, then, to come to an end just before the 1650s, in the case of Barcelona with a bang.

### Seriality, Periodicity, Multi-Event *Relaciones*

In our period the number of towns in Spain in which *relaciones* were printed tripled, from a dozen to nearly three dozen, with Madrid finally joining Barcelona and Seville as one of the three chief centres of production, and with Lima and Mexico reprinting news from Spain and elsewhere. Whereas, before the turn of the century, the number of printers for whom *relaciones* were an important part of their business was small, from the start of the seventeenth century that number increased dramatically. The most productive printers in Barcelona were Esteve Liberós, with over 200 extant *relaciones* between 1613 and 1633, and Sebastià and Jaume Matevat (father and son), with over 270 between 1623 and 1643.<sup>11</sup> In Seville, between 1633 and 1668, Juan Gómez de Blas also produced over 200 news pamphlets.<sup>12</sup>

In many cases, we see the same *relación* published in several different cities, especially in Barcelona, Seville and Madrid. The printers, like the producers of news pamphlets elsewhere in Europe at the time, were far more concerned with quantity than quality, generally using well-worn type and repeatedly reusing old wood blocks for illustration. Most *relaciones de sucesos* occupy either two or four folios, usually in quarto for texts in verse and in folio for texts in prose, although those printed in Barcelona were usually produced in quarto in either case. Whereas the texts were almost always printed in a single typeface – apart from a large, often decorative, initial letter – the titles (which could vary in length from a few words to twenty lines, or more) were generally highlighted by the use of various sizes and types of font. By the beginning of our period the use of gothic type had been replaced by roman.

As regards layout, a few news pamphlets devoted the whole of the first page to the title, especially when the text was unusually short. Most, however, began

11 See Ricard Expósito, *Informació i persuasió*.

12 See Carlota Fernández Travieso and Nieves Pena Sueiro, 'La edición de *relaciones de sucesos* en español durante la edad moderna: lugares de edición e impresores', in Pedro M. Cátedra García and María Eugenia Díaz Tena (eds.), *Géneros editoriales y relaciones de sucesos en la edad moderna* (Salamanca: SIERs and SEMYR, 2013, pp. 125–145), p. 134.

the text of the *relación* on the first page, straight after the title, although some started with a page that looked like the title-page of a book. In those cases, the title came first, commonly followed by a decorative device or an engraved illustration and then, at the bottom of the page, the place of publication, the name of the printer and the date. Very common amongst the woodcuts used were coats of arms, which gave the news an authoritative air. Some woodcuts, however, clearly aimed – if not exactly to *illustrate* the news in question – at least to indicate to the prospective purchaser the type of story involved. Thus, a report on four victories at sea, printed by Juan Serrano de Vargas in Seville in 1618, uses a woodcut of a ship attacking a town or fortress. And a *relación* printed in Barcelona in 1624 uses a turbaned and moustachioed figure to situate a story about a revolt of Christian slaves in Algiers.

The beginning of the seventeenth century saw the birth in northern Europe of periodical news pamphlets. These corantos and gazettes offered compilations of several news items deriving from various geographical sources; roughly regular (to begin with, generally weekly) periodical publication; production normally by a particular printer or syndicate of printers; and recognisably similar titles that could enable prospective purchasers to identify the next issue in a series. In the early 1620s, they became established in Germany, the Netherlands, Switzerland, England and France, whilst in France, from 1631, the model achieved its consummation in Théophraste Renaudot's government-backed *Gazette*, which, in between the issues of the weekly news compilations, also published *Relations* or *Extraordinaires* that allowed for detailed narrative accounts of particularly significant events, in the style of the non-periodical press.

Spain, however, resisted adopting the novelty of the gazette, no doubt in part because it was far removed from the hub of the development of periodicity in northern Europe. As Andrew Pettegree rightly points out, corantos and gazettes, with their bare snippets of news, were not (and are not) very much fun to read, and Spaniards were to continue to enjoy taking their news in the form of the detailed, and usually very readable, narratives offered by the *relaciones*. The first home-grown Spanish periodical pamphlet – the *Gazeta nueva* – did not start life until 1661, and then only as a monthly, produced (what's more) by a Fleming. However, it is becoming increasingly clear that, far from just bucking the trend, Spain went in for several experiments, especially in the 1620s, that offered compromises between the single event occasional pamphlet and the multi-event periodical.<sup>13</sup>

13 Carmen Espejo discusses, very pertinently, the often indeterminate distinction between what is periodical, and what is pre-periodical – see 'Un marco de interpretación para el periodismo europeo en la primera Edad Moderna', in Roger Chartier y Carmen Espejo (eds.), *La aparición del periodismo en Europa. Comunicación y propaganda en el Barroco* (Madrid: Marcial Pons, 2012), pp. 103–126, p. 104.



The Seville printer Rodrigo de Cabrera had produced a substantial series of *relaciones* on the Transylvanian war against the Turks between 1594 and 1596.<sup>14</sup> And he had gone in for *seriality*, in the sense that, after his first *relación*, most of the rest are numbered. Cabrera's reports on Transylvania arrived via Italy, and Italy – where gazettes were not printed until the 1630s – was the source of several prototype gazette-style publications in Spain from the end of the sixteenth century and before.<sup>15</sup> Thus, we have *Avisos de la China y Iapon* (Madrid, 1589) (USTC 336979), based on Jesuit letters published in Italian by Plantin the previous year.<sup>16</sup> What is more, at least one number survives of a similar publication printed in Barcelona – *Avisos de diversas partes...* that covers June to September 1597 – whilst, in 1599, we also find Rodrigo de Cabrera printing *Nuevos avisos de Inglaterra* (BDRS 2534; USTC 338477), and in 1601 Clemente Hidalgo, also in Seville, printing *Avisos de Londres de XIX de Março* (BDRS 5836; USTC 5012300).<sup>17</sup>

Pamphlets printed in Seville and Valencia, from and shortly after 1618, seem to pick up on the *Avisos* from Italy of the turn of the century. Copies survive of four gazette-type pamphlets with news from Rome produced by the enterprising Seville printer Juan Serrano de Vargas – three in 1618 and one in 1621. A *Relacion de avisos de todo lo que ha sucedido en Roma, Nápoles, Venecia, Génova, Sicilia, etc.* claims that its news dates from after 6 January 1618 (BDRS 5617; USTC 5012413), and another version, bearing much the same title, but adding

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- 14 See Carmen Espejo Cala, 'Relaciones de sucesos sevillanas. Un mercado de producción bajo el signo de la decadencia', in *Representaciones de la alteridad, ideológica, religiosa, humana y espacial en las relaciones de sucesos (siglos XVI–XVII)*. V Congreso Internacional SIERS, LHPLE, UFC Besançon, 6, 7, 8, de septiembre de 2007 (Besançon: Presses Universitaires de Franche-Comté, 2009), pp. 71–92. Carmen Espejo informs me (August 2014) that she has identified thirty *relaciones* printed by Cabrera entirely or partially on the Turkish war.
  - 15 From the end of the 1580s some Spanish news pamphlets use the term *Aviso* in their titles, a term that derives from Italian *avvisi* and which usually implies a compendium of varied pieces of news. See Carmen Espejo Cala, 'Gacetas y relaciones de sucesos en la segunda mitad del XVII: una comparativa europea', in Cátedra and Díaz Tena (eds.) *Géneros editoriales*, p. 78.
  - 16 Earlier Jesuit reports, which do not use the term *aviso*, include *Copia de diversas cartas de algunos padres y hermanos de la Compañía de Jesús...* (Barcelona: 1556) (USTC 343066), with news from the Portuguese Indies, Japan and Brasil, and *Cartas de Japon isla de las Indias orientales* (Barcelona: Claudio Bornat, 1580) (USTC 345502). At the end of the century we find quite a number of pamphlets that use the term in their titles – between 1597 and 1599 Rodrigo de Cabrera prints news pamphlets entitled *Nuevos avisos venidos de Roma* (USTC 340333), *Avisos de Roma* (USTC 340333) and *Avisos nuevos venidos de Roma* (USTC 338479).
  - 17 On the *Avisos de diversas partes*, see Carmen Espejo Cala, 'Relaciones de sucesos sevillanas', 78ff.

France, Germany, England, Malta, and other parts, carries the same date (BDRS 5902).<sup>18</sup> Likewise, the Valencian printer Felipe Mey obviously had a special relationship with an Italian supplier at just the same time, for copies survive of two pamphlets entitled *La Gazeta de Roma*: (BDRS 4307–9), one *Relacion de avisos que se saben en Roma* (BDRS 4324), one *Avisos de Roma* (BDRS 4293) and four *Relacion venida de Roma* (BDRS 4350–2, 4357), all printed by him.<sup>19</sup> A *Relación* based on news that came from Rome was also produced in Barcelona by Esteve Liberós in 1621, and, in 1625, the Matevats printed *Avisos* from Genoa.<sup>20</sup>

Not all of the gazette-type *relaciones* were entitled *Gazeta* or *Avisos*. Some other compilations of news from Italy appeared, using different titles. One such, printed in Granada by Francisco González de la Prida in 1601, claims to cover the news that reached Rome during one month and is entitled: *Copia de las nuevas que en Roma se saben desde veynte y quatro de febrero, hasta 24 del presente de março, de las pazes de Francia y el duque de Saboya, y otras muchas cosas agora sucedidas en este año de 1601* (Granada: Francisco González de la Prida, 1601). Two other Andalusian printings produced just prior to 1618 use in their titles, respectively, the terms *Relación* and *Relación de los avisos*.<sup>21</sup> A pamphlet entitled *Relacion de los felicissimos sucessos* was printed in 1621 in

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- 18 See also *Gazeta romana, y relacion general* (Seville: Juan Serrano de Vargas Urueña, 1618) (BDRS 2473; USTC 5006982) and *Relacion de avisos de Roma, Flandes, Sicilia, Alemania, Francia, Florencia y Argel* (Seville, Juan Serrano de Vargas Urueña, 1621) (BDRS 4034; USTC 5009551).
  - 19 For part of this story, see Carmen Espejo, 'El primer periódico de la península Ibérica: la gazeta de Valencia (1619)' (2011): <http://www.upf.edu/obraperiodistica/es/anuari-2011/gazeta-de-valencia.html>. Carmen Espejo informs me (August 2014) that she has identified at least eleven numbers of Mey's gazette.
  - 20 *Relacion verdadera, con que se da aviso de lo que ha pasado en Roma desde 16 de Enero hasta 20 de Febrero de 1621* (Barcelona, Esteve Liberós, 1621) (USTC 5035235). In addition to his Italian connections, Esteve Liberós clearly had a special relationship with France, to judge by the large number of reports of Louis XIII's campaigns against the Huguenots that he published in the 1620s. *Avisos de Genova de onze de iulio de la venida del excellentissimo Duque de Feria de Alexandria de la Palla en la Señoría de Genova*, reproduced in *Notícies del segle XVII: La Premsa a Barcelona entre 1612 i 1628*, Henry Ettinghausen (ed.) (Barcelona: Arxiu Municipal, 2000), – hereafter *Notícies* – No. 99.
  - 21 *Relacion de lo que ay de nuevo en toda la christiandad, y otras particularidades del duque de Ossuna, y sucessos de la guerra del Piamonte, y otras partes diferentes, hasta fin de setiembre deste año de 1617*, (Cadiz: Juan de Borja, 1617) (USTC 5013688); *Relacion de los avisos que ay en Roma, desde veynte y seys de junio hasta siete de agosto, deste presente año de 1617 como consta de una carta que se le embio al licenciado Antonio Parejo en prosecucion de otros que se le an remitido. Dase cuenta de la toma de Verceli, y de algunos sucessos del duque de Osuna con venecianos* (Cordova: Francisco de Cea, 1617) (USTC 5013687).

Seville, by Juan Serrano de Vargas, 'enfrente de Correo', where the printer was clearly in close contact with incoming news. The first of its three folio pages advertise its contents as: Louis XIII's campaign against the Huguenots in Béarn; a victory, in the name of the Spanish Governor of Milan, over the Protestants in the Swiss canton of Graubünden, or Grisons; atrocities committed by heretics against the Catholic governors of Prague; the gift of a sword by the Pope to the Duke of Bavaria; and an account of the beginnings of the Huguenots in France.

Whether, or not, any Spanish printer actually attempted to produce news periodically in the 1620s, seriality, at least, was achieved by the author or syndicate of authors of the seventeen numbered newsletters attributed to Andrés de Almansa y Mendoza. The series starts with the death of Philip III at the end of March 1621 and goes on until November 1624, the first fourteen of the numbered letters seamlessly covering the two and a half years up to November 1623. These newsletters, which came out at irregular intervals, are a remarkable – indeed a unique – experiment, not just because, between them, they cover thirty months non-stop, but also because they deal primarily with home news – and not just *any* home news, but with news of the liquidation of Philip III's administration and the installation of Philip IV's, under the Count Duke of Olivares. What was – with the *Carta segunda que escribió un caballero desta Corte a un su amigo* – to become a series starts off with the extraordinary fly-on-the-wall account of Philip III's death, including what claims to be a transcript of the dying king's confession, in which he repents for his failings as a monarch. It is perhaps not surprising, given the intimate details of the account, that copies of nine editions of this relation survive, printed in Valladolid, Granada, Seville and Lima, with no doubt many of those that do not specify the place of printing, published in Madrid. What is more, it seems very likely that at least three times as many editions were actually produced, amounting to a total of perhaps some 30,000 copies.<sup>22</sup> The fact that the author (or authors) of the series were perfectly aware how delicate was the material they published is suggested by the fact that several of the letters make a point of complaining that the (unnamed) correspondent has allowed them to get into the hands of printers.

The seventeen numbered newsletters attributed to Almansa are matched by seventeen *relaciones* that are unusual for several reasons, one of which is the fact that their author announces his name – 'Andres de Almansa' – on all their first pages and dedicates them all to powerful members of the nobility, including Olivares. The first six of Almansa's *relaciones* give detailed coverage of the extravagant junketings with which the Spanish court filled the six months

22 See Andrés de Almansa y Mendoza, *Obra periodística*, Henry Ettinghausen and Manuel Borrego (ed.), (Madrid: Castalia, 2001), especially pp. 157–161.

spent in Madrid by Prince Charles in 1623. In addition to Almansa's *relaciones*, Charles's entertainment-packed stay in Madrid filled a dozen and a half *relaciones* written by other reporters. Much of the news of Charles's reception, in most cases translated from Spanish *relaciones*, also appeared in Italy, France, the Netherlands and, of course, England. And an engraved broadside of the magnificent official entry into Madrid that was put on for him came out in Germany.<sup>23</sup> The remainder of Almansa's seventeen known *relaciones*, the last of which is dated May 1627, cover a host of events, such as the baptism of an infanta, an *auto de fe*, the death of the Queen's confessor, public festivities in Barcelona, and the Constable of Navarre's embassy to Rome. Almansa was the outstanding Spanish journalist in the first half of the seventeenth century, not just because he went out of his way to make a name for himself as a *relacionero*, but because his *relaciones* are amongst the most deliberately literary of his time. Almansa was, clearly, writing for the social elite, making use of complex Gongoresque prose – he had been the first public defender of Luis de Góngora's revolutionary poetry in Madrid – and showing off his skill at describing in great detail the splendid clothes worn by royalty and the aristocracy at the public events that he reports.<sup>24</sup>

Returning to the question of periodical publication, during their respective wars of secession in the 1640s, when both Catalonia and Portugal allied with France against Spain, we find that Renaudot's *Gazette* influenced the production of multi-event news pamphlets on both flanks of the Peninsula. In Portugal, a gazette began publishing in November 1641 and carried on until 1647. What happened in Catalonia was similar, although the evidence is thinner, partly, no doubt, because when Barcelona fell in 1652, the Spanish conquerors destroyed large quantities of documents. However, we know of a total of 37 surviving gazette-type publications printed in Barcelona in almost exactly the same period as in Portugal – 1640 to 1647.<sup>25</sup>

### The Baroque Press

It would be impossible in the space available to do justice to the range of news stories published in the period we are concerned with, but we can at least pick

23 See Ettinghausen, *Prince Charles and the King of Spain's Sister*.

24 See Henry Ettinghausen, 'Fashion Reporting in Early Seventeenth-Century Spain: Andrés de Almansa y Mendoza and Prince Charles's Spanish Trip', in José Luis Colomer and Amalia Descalzo (eds.), *Spanish Fashion at the Courts of Early Modern Europe*, (2 vols. Madrid: CEEH, 2014, I, pp. 419–445).

25 See Expósito, *Informació i persuasió*, p. 185.

out a few of the most prominent. At the very end of the sixteenth century a hugely prolonged event that was covered step by step, and not just in Spain, was the marriage of Philip III to Margaret of Austria in 1599, with a host of news pamphlets marking the queen-to-be's stop-offs on her stately journey through Italy, her embarkation at Genoa, and her landing at Valencia. The press in the first two decades of the new century was marked, amongst other things, by the appearance of a new phenomenon – the media hero. Military commanders such as Ambrosio Espínola, Emanuel Filiberto of Savoy, the Marquis of Santa Cruz and the Duke of Osuna were keenly aware that the press could turn them into household names, and their exploits filled scores of *relaciones*.<sup>26</sup>

Amongst the big religious news stories, papal promotion of the Immaculate Conception was greeted with prolonged rejoicing in Spain that was echoed in scores of *relaciones*, so that possibly half of all the works printed in Seville between 1615 and 1619 had to do with the Marian frenzy.<sup>27</sup> The beatifications of Ignatius Loyola in 1610, and of Teresa of Avila in 1614, were celebrated similarly, and the joint canonisation, only eight years later, of Ignatius, Teresa, Francis Xavier and Philip Neri produced a glut of national exultation, accompanied by dozens of printed accounts of the festivities that were put on all over Spain.

Natural disasters, crimes and other sensational stories made the news increasingly often in our period. Disasters had figured in the Spanish press at least as early as 1531, when an earthquake in Portugal was reported in a *relación* printed in Valencia (BDRS 6203). In our period we know of at least half a dozen more. *Relaciones* on the earthquake that took place on Terceira Island, in the Azores, were published in 1614 in Barcelona and Seville (BDRS 1986, 5868); on one in Mantua, in Valencia in 1619 (BDRS 4365); on one in Puglia, in Barcelona in 1627 (BDRS 0489); on one in Italy, Constantinople and Jerusalem, in Barcelona in 1632 (BDRS 3436); on one in Italy, in Salamanca and Barcelona in 1638; and on one in Chile, in Seville in 1648 (BDRS 0692).<sup>28</sup> Volcanic eruptions also made the news, most prominently the violent eruption of Vesuvius in December 1631, one journalistic outcome of which was an *Aviso tercero* written by one

26 See Sagrario López Poza, 'El gran duque de Osuna y las relaciones sobre su actuación en el Mediterráneo como virrey de Sicilia y Nápoles', in Antonina Paba (ed.), *Con gracia y agudeza. Studi offerti a Giuseppina Ledda*, (Roma: Aracne, 2007), pp. 407–440.

27 See Pierre Civil, 'Iconografía y relaciones en pliegos: la exaltación de la Inmaculada en la Sevilla de principios del siglo XVII', in María Cruz García de Enterría et al. (ed.), *Las relaciones de sucesos en España (1500–1750). Actas del Primer Coloquio Internacional (Alcalá de Henares, 8, 9 y 10 de junio de 1995)* (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne / Servicio de Publicaciones de la Universidad de Alcalá, 1996), pp. 65–77.

28 The 1638 edition is reproduced in *Noticias del siglo XVII: relaciones españolas de sucesos naturales y sobrenaturales*, Henry Ettinghausen (ed.), (Barcelona: Puvill, 1995) – hereafter *Noticias*.

Giovanni Orlando and printed by Esteve Liberós in Barcelona, which thoughtfully appended a devout remedy for earthquakes (BDRS 4669). Exceptionally violent storms and floods were also covered: the floods in Barcelona in 1617 (BDRS 3793), in North Africa and Seville in 1618 (*Notícies*, Nos. 34, 35), in Flanders in 1624 (BDRS 0095), in Salamanca and Seville in 1626 (*Noticias*), in Malaga in 1628 (BDRS 4521, 5979), or in Saragossa in 1643 (BDRS 5443). The hurricane that hit the town of Zafra in 1624 was reported in a *relación* published in Seville (BDRS 6280).

Amongst the types of news that developed further in the first half of the seventeenth century was the kind of sensationalistic stories denounced by Lope de Vega, including, as he put it, stories of men who rape their daughters, kill their mothers, speak to the devil, deny the Faith, blaspheme and invent miracles.<sup>29</sup> Even though the term is notoriously imprecise, it may be useful to think of stories such as these – and of human, animal and fabulous monster stories – as forming part of the Baroque. What they have in common is the desire to terrify or amaze with unusual or extreme experiences, as part of a culture intended to astound the masses.<sup>30</sup>

Sensational stories include incidents involving the devil, amongst them three *relaciones* in verse published in Barcelona between 1617 and 1625 that explain how a merchant was carried off by demons because he refused to go to confession; how an ill-tempered woman ended up rather badly when she told her children to go to the devil; and how a tailor, incited by the devil, killed his wife, who was seven months pregnant, because she broke a needle.<sup>31</sup> As for news of actual devils, a *relación* in verse printed in Murcia in 1613 explained how, that summer, thirty-five legions of devils had descended on the town of Castro.<sup>32</sup>

However, the devil's personal involvement is not always stressed. Two *relaciones* printed in Barcelona in 1616 tell of murderous knights, one of whom committed adultery with a married woman and killed her husband, whilst the other gave false witness against a distinguished lady who refused to give in to his indecent advances and slit his throat in her own bed.<sup>33</sup> A *relación*, printed

29 See María Cruz García de Enterría, 'Un memorial 'casi' desconocido de Lope', *Boletín de la Real Academia Española*, 51 (1971), pp. 139–160, esp. pp. 141, 144.

30 In England, too, 'It is as if the quality of being extraordinary, sensational, prodigious was regarded as essential to news' – Matthias A. Shaaber, *Some Forerunners of the Newspaper in England, 1476–1622* (London: Frank Cass, 1966), p. 9.

31 See *Notícies*, Nos. 88, 98, 28.

32 This *relación* is reproduced in *Noticias*.

33 See *Notícies*, Nos. 20, 22, and Henry Ettinghausen, 'Sexo y violencia: noticias sensacionalistas en la prensa española del siglo XVII', *Edad de Oro*, 12 (1993), pp. 95–107.

in Madrid in 1638, simply tells how a disobedient son beat up his father and cut off his mother's breasts because his parents disapproved of his mistress.<sup>34</sup> A further *Verdadera relacion* printed in Barcelona in 1622 relates how God punished a boy who, egged on by his father, stoned his mother to death.<sup>35</sup> If we aren't there already, with a verse *relacion*, printed in Barcelona in 1618, we definitely get very close to the early gutter press. It tells of a band of gypsies who set upon a friar in the Sierra Morena, killed him, roasted him and ate him.<sup>36</sup>

Terrifyingly gory deaths also figure prominently in the many *relaciones* on martyrdoms which offer their readers and listeners a dizzying range of exotic executions, including *relaciones* in verse on the crucifixion in Tunis in 1626 of a Majorcan who took three days to die; on the ingeniously varied ways designed by the king of Morocco in 1621 to put to death ten Christians who had refused to be sodomised; or the mass martyrdom of 118 Christians in Japan in 1622.<sup>37</sup>

As for *autos de fe*, a *relación* was published in Madrid, Barcelona and Seville on the *auto* that filled Madrid's Plaza Mayor in July 1624 in which a Huguenot was condemned to be garroted for stamping on a consecrated host and hurling a chalice to the ground; whilst another, printed in Barcelona three years later, told of the *auto* held in that city in which ten wretched men and women were variously sentenced to the galleys, to whippings, to banishment and to confinement to a convent for bigamy, witchcraft or eating meat on Fridays.<sup>38</sup> All of the

34 *Caso admirable y ejemplar en que se da cuenta como en la Villa de Sarrato un hijo desobediente cortó las tetas a su madre y a su padre dio de bofetadas, porque le apartaron de su manceba [...]* (Madrid: Antonio Duplastre, 1638) (USTC 5041320).

35 Reproduced in *Notícies*, No. 58.

36 Reproduced in *Notícies*, No. 32.

37 The first two *relaciones* are reproduced in *Notícies*. For the events of 1622, see *Relacion breve de los grandes y rigurosos martirios que el año passado de 1622 dieron en el Japon a ciento y diez y ocho illustrissimos Martyres [...]* (Madrid: Andrés de Parra, 1624) (USTC 5015164). See Patrick Bégrand, 'Las figuras del renegado y del mártir, metáforas del infierno y del paraíso', in Pierre Civil, Françoise Crémoux y Jacobo Sanz (eds.), *España y el mundo mediterráneo a través de las relaciones de Sucesos (1500–1750)*, *Actas del IV Coloquio Internacional sobre Relaciones de Sucesos (París, 23–25 de septiembre, 2004)* (Salamanca: Aquilafuente, 2008), pp. 25–39; and Eva Belén Carro Carbajal, 'España y el mundo mediterráneo: advocaciones y milagros en las relaciones poéticas de martirios a finales del siglo XVI', *España y el mundo mediterráneo*, pp. 55–68.

38 The 1624 Barcelona edition is reproduced in *Notícies*, No. 91; for the Seville edition, see BDRS 2772. The sixteenth in the series of numbered letters attributed to Almansa y Mendoza refers to 'algunas relaciones' published on this incident and comments: 'después la Inquisición las mandó recoger', *Obra periodística*, 306. For *relaciones* on *autos de fe*, see Jaime Contreras, 'Fiesta y auto de fe: un espacio sagrado y profano', *Las relaciones de sucesos en España*, pp. 79–90. *Iberian Books* includes *relaciones* on *autos de fe* held in

eleven *relaciones* on *autos de fe* listed in the BDRS were printed between 1623 and 1632.<sup>39</sup>

In 1621, very shortly after Philip IV's accession, the people of Madrid witnessed the chilling public execution of one of the powerful figures in the government of Philip III when Rodrigo Calderón, Marquis of Siete Iglesias and secretary to the Duke of Lerma, was beheaded, an event that inspired numerous *relaciones*, most of which expressed admiration for the victim's Christian remorse and composure.<sup>40</sup> There is violence, but there is also sex. In a *Relacion verdadera* published in Seville and in Lima around 1617, one María Muñoz, who had spent twelve years as a nun in Úbeda, is said to have done some heavy manual work in the convent garden, whereupon she discovered that she had developed male genitalia and had to leave the convent.<sup>41</sup> However, the story has a happy ending, as Maria's father had always wanted a male heir. No less wonderful, in its way, is the *Relacion verissima*, printed in Cuenca in 1603, in which we learn how a beautiful, virtuous and well-born lady gave birth to a black baby, the completely obvious explanation offered being that, when it was conceived, the baby daughter of the lady's black maidservant was lying on the bed beside her.<sup>42</sup>

Moving on to miracles and marvels, amongst the more striking examples are a *Relación verdadera de un caso raro y maravilloso*, published in Barcelona in 1627, which reports on how the Swedish army in Poland shot at a crucifix, whereupon the bullets ricocheted, killing no less than 14,000 of the Protestant soldiers; one published in Granada and Barcelona in 1630, and in Seville in 1631,

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Logroño (1610), Valladolid (1623 and 1636), Madrid (1624 and 1632), Cordova (1625) and Lima (1639). On the 1627 auto, see *Notícies*, No. 120.

39 As of March 2014.

40 See Olivier Caporossi, 'El discurso sobre el crimen de lesa majestad en la Corte de España: las relaciones de ejecuciones públicas en el Madrid de Felipe IV (1621–1665)', in Patrick Bégrand (ed.), *Las relaciones de sucesos. Relatos fácticos, oficiales y extraordinarios* (Besançon: Presses Universitaires de Franche-Comté, 2006), pp. 179–198.

41 The Seville edition is reproduced in *Noticias*, whilst the Lima edition is described with an identical titlepage in *Iberian Books*, <http://n2t.net/ark:/87925/drs1.iberian.48483>: *Relacion verdadera de una carta que embio el padre prior de la orden de sancto Domingo, de la ciudad de Ubeda, al abad mayor de San Salvador de la ciudad de Granada, de un caso digno de ser avisado, como estuvo doze años una monja professa, la qual avia metido su padre por ser cerrada, y no ser para casada, y un dia haziendo un exercicio de fuerza se le rompio una tela por donde le salio la naturaleza de hombre como los demas y lo que se hizo para sacalla del convento, agora sucedido en este año de mil y seiscientos y diez y siete* (Ciudad de los Reyes: Francisco del Canto, 1617) (USTC 5027848).

42 Reproduced in *Noticias*.



that tells how in Lisbon a dog performed remarkable acts, including accompanying the final sacraments to the houses of the dying and sitting with its paws clasped, as if in prayer, and one, printed in Madrid in 1641, which explains that the Virgen del Pilar had resurrected a leg that had been amputated and buried.<sup>43</sup> Even one of the very sober numbered letters attributed to Andrés de Almansa y Mendoza relates how, in 1624, a discalced Franciscan took off from half way down the nave of the church of San Ginés in Madrid and flew in the air up to the high altar, where he hung suspended for a quarter of an hour, after which the congregation tore his habit to shreds to keep as relics.<sup>44</sup>

It is in the first half of the seventeenth century that we find in Spain stories that verge on the Baroquely deliriously unlikely, even though they are always presented (as are nearly all *relaciones*) as being absolutely true: such things as the triton known as the Peje Nicolao, who – in a *relación* published in Barcelona and Salamanca in 1608 – is said to have appeared to sailors and spoken to them in various parts; the beast, part eagle and part dragon, discovered in La Rochelle by an Englishman, which – as the *Relacion verdadera* published in Madrid in 1645 declared – foretold the end of the Thirty Years' War; a Bengali man who married eight times, grew two sets of new teeth and lived for 380 years; the baby boy born with thirty-three eyes arranged all over his person, who lived for thirty-three days and spoke exemplary words, as related in a *relación* published in Baeza, Barcelona and Valencia (BDRS 0098); the youngster born with his body covered in shells, with boots on his feet and a cross on his chest (in a *relación* printed in Barcelona in 1628 and in Madrid in 1659); the boy born in Turkey with three horns on his head and ass's ears who foretold the downfall of the Turkish state; or the woman in Seville (in a *relación* in verse published in 1633) who, in the twelve years she had been married, had had fifty-two children, a story that is combined with the report on a lady in Ireland who

43 The 1627 account is reproduced in *Notícies*, No. 112. The 1630 account is reproduced in *Notícies*. See also *Iberian Books* <http://n2t.net/ark:/87925/drs1.iberian.29035> For the 1641 account, see Pedro Apaolaza, *Milagro obrado por n. señor a devocion de la sagrada imagen, i sacrosanta capilla de nuestra señora del Pilar de Caragoca del reino de Aragon, en la resurreccion de una pierna cortada i enterrada* (Madrid, Imprenta del Reino, 1641) (USTC 5033829).

44 See Almansa y Mendoza, *Obra periodística*, pp. 298–299, and also Patrick Bégrand, 'Propaganda teológica y veridicción en las relaciones de milagros del siglo xvii', in Antonina Paba & Gabriel Andrés Renales (eds.), *Encuentro de civilizaciones (1500–1750). Informar, narrar, celebrar. Actas del Tercer Coloquio Internacional sobre Relaciones de Sucesos. Cagliari, 5–8 de septiembre de 2001* (Cagliari: Universidad de Alcalá/Università degli Studi di Cagliari, 2003), pp. 49–69.

had given birth to 370 mouse-sized children at a single sitting on a silver platter and, to boot, had had them baptised.<sup>45</sup>

If the huge quantities of news about the military, about royalty and about the Church provide in our period a crescendo of glorification of the powers that be, the growth of the sensationalist mass press can be seen to have contributed to the same ideological purpose. Exploiting the disconcerting borders between reality and verisimilitude, alternating terror with titillation, it held out the assurance that, thanks to divine and human justice, evil and perdition could be overcome. In the last resort, the press offered nothing but good news – the triumph of Spain over its enemies, of good over evil, and of Providence and divine wisdom that used portents and wonders to demonstrate its omnipotence. In short, Baroque preludes to the Axis of Evil, to the court circular and to the tabloid press.

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- 45 The 1608 account is reproduced in *Noticias*. See Julio Caro Baroja, 'El 'Pesce Cola' o el 'Peje Nicolao', *Revista de Dialectología y Tradiciones Populares*, 39 (1984), pp. 7–16; María d'Agostino, 'Una versión española de la leyenda del pez Nicolás', in Pedro M. Cátedra (dir.), Eva Belén Carro Carbajal, Laura Mier, Laura Puerto Moro and María Sánchez Pérez (eds.), *La Literatura popular impresa en España y en la América colonial. Formas y temas, géneros, funciones, difusión, historia y teoría* (Salamanca: SEMYR e Instituto de Historia del Libro y de la Lectura, 2006), pp. 281–288. The 1646 account is reproduced in *Noticias*. Amongst several cases of monstrous births, we find a *Relación verdadera de un parto monstruoso, nacido en la ciudad de Tortosa de una pobre mujer, conforme se ve en las dos figuras de arriba, y en la descripción siguiente* (Madrid: por los herederos de la viuda de Pedro de Madrigal, 1634). The relación relating to the Bengali man was published in Barcelona in 1608 (USTC 5003222) in Salamanca in 1609 ((USTC 5040247), in Alcalá de Henares in 1610 (USTC 5025688), and in Cadiz in 1622 (BDRS 4912). The two editions of the account of the baby born covered in shells are both reproduced in *Noticias*. The edition related to the Turkish boy was printed as a broadside in Seville in 1624, is reproduced in *Noticias*; the illustration from a Granada edition, in Juan Carrete Parrondo, 'Estampas fantásticas. Imágenes y descripciones de monstruos', in Charles Davis and Paul Julian Smith (eds.), *Art and Literature in Spain: 1600–1800. Studies in Honour of Nigel Glendinning*, (London/Madrid: Támesis, 1993), pp. 55–67, p. 57. On the story of the Irish mother and her mouse-sized children, see Fernando Álvarez, *Relacion muy verdadera en que se da cuenta de vna muger natural de Seuilla, que en tiempo de doze años que es casada ha parido cinquenta y dos hijos y oy en día esta viua. Cuentase de vna señora muy principal de irlanda que pario trezientos y sesenta hijos en vna fuente de plata y los bautizaron [...]* (Seville: Manuel de Sande, 1633) (USTC 5020541), and Aurora Domínguez Guzmán, 'Algunas lecturas curiosas en la Sevilla del siglo XVII', *Archivo Hispalense*, 205 (1984), pp. 77–103, p. 84.

# ‘Things Worthy of Being Known’: The Reception and Consumption of the Press in Catalonia During the First Half of the Seventeenth Century

*Ricard Expósito Amagat*

‘I hear new news every day’ wrote Robert Burton, ‘and those ordinary rumours of war, plagues, fires, inundations, thefts, murders, massacres, meteors, comets, spectrums, prodigies, apparitions, of towns taken, cities besieged in France, Germany, Turkey, Persia, Poland, &c. daily musters and preparations, and such like, which these tempestuous times afford, battles fought, so many men slain, monomachies, shipwrecks, piracies, and sea-fights; peace, leagues, stratagems, and fresh alarms. A vast confusion of vows, wishes, actions, edicts, petitions, lawsuits, pleas, laws, proclamations, complaints, grievances are daily brought to our ears. New books every day, pamphlets, currantoes, stories, whole catalogues of volumes of all sorts, new paradoxes, opinions, schisms, heresies, controversies in philosophy, religion, &c. (...) Thus I daily hear, and such like, both private and publick news, amidst the gallantry and misery of the world’.<sup>1</sup>



This well-known dissection of news was written in a room in Oxford in the first half of the seventeenth century and, if we remove the singularities of the English context, it could serve equally well to describe the various kinds of information supplied by the European continental press, including that of Catalonia. Of course, the scholarly Burton (1577–1640), a professor at Oxford University, was an avid reader and consumer of contemporary media, but his words could have been written – or at least subscribed to – by various clergymen, lawyers, noblemen and even by a number of the craftsmen and artisans in the Principality of Catalonia, or at least by those of them who were readers

<sup>1</sup> Robert Burton, *The Anatomy of Melancholy* (Philadelphia: J.W. Moore, 1847), originally published in 1621, p. 17. The chapter that follows was translated by Francis Boyle.

of single event newsletters, gazettes, and other news sources.<sup>2</sup> In this chapter, we will examine some of these consumers – readers and listeners. We shall follow a not very well-worn path to discover how the print media, and other lesser genres, were received and consumed in urban Catalonia in the modern era.<sup>3</sup> In other words, we will take a close look at the *public* – at the mostly male consumers of news in cities and towns who read or heard someone read the news of current events taking place at home and abroad.

### Listening to the Words

First, however, we need to deal with the issue of the level of urban literacy during the first half of the seventeenth century. This subject has, in fact, been dealt with in detail in a previous study, but here we can provide a brief summary.<sup>4</sup> The best-studied case concerns Barcelona, although it is based on figures relating to the possession of books and therefore, as with a similar study for the region of Castile 'It is important to bear in mind that while literacy and book-owning are closely correlated, they are not equivalent. In the sixteenth century one could learn to read with inexpensive primers (*cartillas de leer*) without ever owning a book'.<sup>5</sup> That said, we know that, from a total of 3,218 post-mortem inventories of Barcelona citizens between 1601 and 1652, the presence of books is recorded in 578 cases or 17.96 per cent.<sup>6</sup> These inventories reveal a familiarity with the printed word that touches upon most of Barcelona's social fabric: ranging from clergymen – the main group of readers or book owners – lawyers and noblemen, to classes further down the social scale, such

2 In addition to the references found in *The Anatomy of Melancholy*, we know that the author possessed various printed leaflets such as, for example, an account of "*that horrible murder committed by John Bartram, gent. upon the body of sir John Tyndale*" (London: John Beale, 1616) (USTC 3007040), or "*Most strange newes from Lishborne*" (London: A. Jeffres, f. W. Barley, 1591) (USTC 511750). See Nicolas K. Kiessling, *The Library of Robert Burton* (Oxford: Oxford Bibliographical Society, 1988), 14 (70), 57 (291), 143 (756), 163 (862), 183 (970) *et passim*. The examples cited correspond to numbers 862 and 970 respectively.

3 I have examined rural Catalonia elsewhere, see Ricard Expósito, 'En un rincón del mundo': lectores y oidores de prensa en la Cataluña rural de la época moderna (siglos XVI–XVIII), *Studia Aurea* (forthcoming).

4 Ricard Expósito, *Informació i persuasió. En els orígens de la premsa catalana (c. 1500–1720)* (Unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Girona, 2014), Ch. 9.

5 Sara T. Nalle, 'Literacy and Culture in Early Modern Castile', *Past & Present*, 125 (1989), p. 70.

6 Antonio Espino, 'Libros, lecturas y lectores en la Barcelona de la primera mitad del siglo XVII', *Estudis*, 29 (2003), pp. 205–229.

as weavers, carpenters, tailors, and musicians.<sup>7</sup> All of these had, to a greater or lesser extent, books that had been bought, borrowed or inherited. Unfortunately, the presence of printed ephemera or works of 'remenderia' – for instance *goigs* [religious couplets], songs, and lives of saints – is rarely found in these post-mortem inventories, as they were of insufficient economic value to be worth being recorded by notaries, except in the case of inventories of booksellers and printers.<sup>8</sup> The socio-cultural context in Barcelona was not much different from other cities and towns in Catalonia. Furthermore, the teaching of the first steps of how to read was quite widespread across the country and being able to read and write was a requirement for municipal appointments and posts.<sup>9</sup>

However, illiteracy itself was not an insurmountable obstacle for the consumption of products concerning current, or other, events: oral communication allowed the dissemination and reception of news at all levels, regardless of how familiar the people were with the written or printed word.<sup>10</sup> This oral culture, ever-present in the city and the countryside, was a vehicle for the transmission of printed news, of pamphlets and of the different types of official information proclaimed in the customary places – *per loca solita* –, among other related genera.<sup>11</sup> For example, there is evidence that, in addition to the royal and viceregal edicts and those of the more local 'land' authorities being proclaimed in public and often printed as public notices, certain legal and

7 Antonio Espino, 'Les lectures de les dones i dels sectors populars a la Barcelona del Sis-cents (1600–1660)', *Revista de Catalunya*, 162 (2001), pp. 25–47.

8 For example, an inventory dated 1604 records that in the shop of the Barcelonan bookseller Jeroni Guerra, there were 12 '*Libres del Roser* [Rosary Books] in 8°' and, at the house in the street of Argenteria, there were 13 '*Vidas de St Aleix* [lives of St. Aleix] in 8°', Arxiu Històric de la Ciutat de Barcelona (AHCB) Arxiu notarial, I. 47. In another example, dated 1629, another bookseller, Jacint Argemir, possessed 26 copies of '*Modo de ajudar a ben morir* [Ways to assist in a good death] de 8°' and '*Pelegrins tretse mans*', AHCB Arxiu notarial, I-51. However, the press, as a medium of the present and, therefore, relatively immediate consumption, could not be stored (and inventoried) in contrast to the 'relacions' in book form such as '*Recibimiento que hiso la Ciudad de Çaragossa á la reyna de Spanya in 4°*', AHCB, Arxiu notarial, I. 47.

9 This requirement was established in the city of Girona in 1651, Arxiu Municipal de Girona (AMGi), *Manual d'acords*, 1651, f. 477. As was the case with Vic during the Thirty Years War, in Lleida (1679) and so on.

10 Fernando Bouza, *Palabra e imagen en la Corte. Cultura oral y visual de la nobleza en el Siglo de Oro*, (Madrid: Abada, 2003), p. 28.

11 See Antonio Castillo, 'Del oído a la vista: espacios y formas de la publicidad del escrito (siglos xv–xvi)', in J.M. Soto Rábanos (coord.), *Pensamiento medieval hispano. Homenaje a Horacio Santiago-Otero*, (Madrid: CSIC, 1998), vol. 1, pp. 473–496.

political reports from the city of Barcelona were also read out loud, if only partially, in public squares and streets.<sup>12</sup> Printed versions were sometimes acquired by its inhabitants, as related by the craftsman Miquel Parets, from Barcelona regarding the '*Memorial de la cobertura*' [on the right to be covered in the presence of royalty] at the beginning of the 1630s.<sup>13</sup> In fact, it seems that reading aloud was quite widespread among those who could not access the printed word on their own, especially in public spaces. For example, during the Catalan Revolt (1640–1659), the bustling Plaça de Sant Jaume in Barcelona was a meeting place for people of all classes and conditions and, as in the Venetian Piazza San Marco, political and military news was discussed, and often distorted. At least this was how it was described in 1642 by a contemporary of the Catalan Revolt who, it should be said, was apparently not very much in favour of public debate: 'there is no lack of people who contradict, who denounce, who mutter, nor of those who defend, who champion, who rage; here the news is debased'.<sup>14</sup>

Much of this news had been printed previously or was in the process of being printed in the street of Sant Domènec, in the rectory of *Nostra Senyora del Pi*, or in front of the King's Palace. From there, and from the nearby *Car-rer de la Llibreria* (Bookshop Street), the news-sheets were distributed around Barcelona and also beyond its walls: to other Catalan towns and towns outside the Principality – hence the use of the Spanish language, and even Italian, in addition to Catalan for domestic consumption. The same occurred with other

12 Public announcements and edicts were proclaimed in the "customary places" in Barcelona and Catalan towns so that "ignorance could not be alleged", BC, F. Bon. 54. These were places that usually coincided with those of other political or religious acts and celebrations – such as street preaching – in the "most public squares", BUB, 399, [f. 43v]. See, for example, Arxiu de la Corona d'Aragó (ACA), Cancelleria, Registres, 5527, "Felipe III el Grande. *Curie locumtenencie* 16", and AHCB, Consell de Cent, *Registre d'Ordinacions*, 1651–1658.

13 1,500 editions of this report – a defence of the privilege of city councillors to remain covered in the presence of the King – were printed and, according to Parets, "the people bought many of them", AHCB, Consell de Cent, *Memorial de comptes*, 1632–1633, f. 787r-v and Miquel Parets, *Crònica*, edited by M. Rosa Margalef, introductory studies by James S. Amelang et al. (Barcelona: Barcino, 2011), Book I/1, vol. 1, p. 311, respectively.

14 *Triumphos del amor, glorias del afecto, y fiestas de la lealtad verdadera. Celebradas en la iglesia peroquial [sic] de Santiago de la insigne ciudad de Barcelona à los 25 de setiembre 1642* (Barcelona: Gabriel Nogues, 1642) (USTC 5011039), p. 26. Cf. Francisco Manuel de Melo, *Historia de los movimientos, separacion y guerra de Cataluña, en tiempo de Felipe IV, nueva edición corregida* (Madrid: imprenta de Sancha, 1808 [1645]), p. 54.

papers, whether approved by the authorities or outlawed by them, as in the case of lampoons and pamphlets.<sup>15</sup>

Certainly, either *gratis et amore* or while charging a few pennies, collective oral readings took place in cities and other smaller towns, as well as in the countryside. For example, a famous Catalan lawyer, Jeroni Pujades, in a handwritten note prior to 1635, related the following episode:

*being in Castelló, I met an envoy of the Court of the County of Empúries called Pera Vila, who himself recounted similar fables in public [in reference to the popular Pere Porter's Journey to Hell]; and he himself confessed that it was his own modus vivendi that simple people would give him some pennies for him to read it out forthwith and thus it occurred.*<sup>16</sup>

It is true in this case that the stories told by Vila were fables or stories with little truth to them. But other people did the same with the press: they explained them or read them to friends and strangers, sometimes with the intention of selling them the printed version or a handwritten copy. Possibly, around the same time in which Vila earned a little money with stories such as the *The Story of the Case of Pere Porter*, there was an itinerant pedlar and dealer of pamphlets named Jerònim Plana, who visited the villages and farms (*masies*) of the region of La Garrotxa in Old Catalonia, to sell printed and handwritten newsletters on topical issues such as banditry.<sup>17</sup> Before selling them, however,

15 Some examples: in 1641, the council of Barcelona offered 500 *lliures* for the capture of the person who had put up "printed papers in certain public places" against the French (allies at the time), AHCB, Consell de Cent, *Deliberacions de la Junta de Guerra*, 1640–1641, f. 226r–v. Also, in Girona, in 1653, anti-Castilian pamphlets that had probably been printed in Perpignan were disseminated. In this case, the reward was 1000 *lliures*, AMGi, *Manual d'acords*, 1653, ff. 86–91v.

16 This note by Pujades is found on the cover of the *Relació del cas de-n Pere Porter qui diu baxà al Infern y lo que allí veié* [The Story of the case of Pere Porter who said he had descended to Hell and what he saw there], Bibliothèque Nationale de France (BNF), Fons Baluze, 238, ff. 382–396. Regarding Pere Porter, see Anonymous, *Viatge a l'infern d'en Pere Porter. Entre la realitat i la ficció*, J.M. Pons Guri (ed.), (Barcelona, Curial, 1999); Luís R. Cordeguera, 'The Peasant Who Went to Hell: Dreams and Visions in Early Modern Spain', in Ann Marie Plane and Leslie Tuttle (eds.), *Dreams, Dreamers, and Visions. The Early Modern Atlantic World* (Philadelphia, UPP, 2013), pp. 88–103.

17 Unfortunately, little is known of the role of such peddlers, or hawkers, in modern Catalonia, in contrast to France, where there is abundant literature on the subject. It would be of interest to study this practice in Catalonia, as well as fairs selling books and ephemera (or other fairs in which such materials were present) in order to learn more about

this 'colporteur' read or recited them in the town squares, in front of churches or on the threshing floors of the houses of potential buyers and their families.<sup>18</sup>

The reading aloud of occasional and periodical papers was obviously not limited to public spaces. It was also carried out in the privacy of the home of friends and family, in the academic circles of urban patricians, in the shops and workshops of artisans and in many other sites, some of which may appear to us as rather surprising, such as monastic confines. It is true that reading out loud was – and is – essential to the liturgy and to preaching.<sup>19</sup> However, consumption of the periodical press was far removed from everyday religious services and practices, and could even disrupt them. For this reason, in order to keep the peace among the Capuchins, the provincial chapter of Tuïr in 1649, presided over by Father Innocenzo da Caltagirone, set out the following:

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the distribution of items published locally and abroad. An example from 1610: a letter from a priest in Puigcerdà, who was a correspondent of the lawyer, Pujades, mentions a book merchant from Perpignan at the fair in his town, BNF, Fons Baluze, 238, f. 271, 20-XI-1610. And in a much later example, in 1763, the printer, Gabriel Bro junior, the son of the royal typographer of Girona of the same name, eked out a living 'selling romances in the squares and on street corners', ACA, Reial Audiència, *Plets civils*, 22808, f. 115, see Ricard Exposito, 'Informació i premsa en temps de guerra: Gabriel Bro (s. XVIII)', *Annals de l'Institut d'Estudis Gironins*, 53 (2012), pp. 335–358.

- 18 Arxiu del mas Fontanil (AMF), *Quadern amb censals del Fontanil de Cogolls*, 1620–1635, ff. 15v i 16.
- 19 In his journey around the Iberian Peninsula between 1604 and 1605, Barthélemy Joly, a "conseiller et aumônier du Roi" – who, it is worth noting, was rather arrogant and full of prejudices – wrote the following on urban Catalonia: during the afternoon, the people would gather "at the shops of the barbers which are large, and which have no more awning than a curtain, behind which they would play chess; others would amuse themselves talking or wisecracking, giving credit to the old refrain: *lippis atque tonsoribus*", José García Mercadal, *Viajes de extranjeros por España y Portugal. Desde los tiempos más remotos hasta comienzos del siglo XX*, (Valladolid: Junta de Castilla y León, 1999), t. II, p. 698. Without doubt, in such places of work and leisure, the reading aloud of printed and handwritten texts, the press included, must have been much commoner than what we can surmise from the rather scarce historical evidence that has survived. Regarding these kinds of informal spaces for communication (barber shops, pharmacies, taverns, markets, and so forth) see Filippo de Vivo, 'Pharmacies as Centres of Communication in Early Modern Venice', *Renaissance Studies*, 21 (2007), pp. 505–521 and Evelyn Welch, 'Space and Spectacle in the Renaissance Pharmacy', *Medicina & Storia*, 15 (2008), pp. 127–158. On other urban spaces in which discussion of the most recent news must also have taken place, see Albert García Espuche, "La ciutat dels triquets: joc i espai urbà", in id., *Barcelona entre dues guerres. Economia i vida quotidiana (1652–1714)* (Vic: Eumo, 2005), pp. 89–146. On preaching, see Antonio Castillo, 'Leer en comunidad. Libro y espiritualidad en la España del Barroco', *Via Spiritus*, 7 (2000), pp. 114–122.



And, since it deals with things of war and similar things, there arises among certain imprudent religious brethren many arguments that are harmful to charity and fraternal union, we prohibit and condemn the seeking of gazettes or similar 'avisos'; that they be not read nor discussed in the presence of religious brethren, and whosoever does the contrary shall be gravely punished by the guardian father or the visiting provincial father, commensurate with the degree of excess.<sup>20</sup>

Among the Benedictine monks, or at least in some of the order's monasteries, the situation was similar: at Santa Maria d'Amer, the reading aloud of reports and gazettes regarding the Thirty Years' War ended up with some monks resolving their differences with a fist fight.<sup>21</sup>

Oral communication and the collective exploitation of printed and handwritten copies not only allowed illiterate and semi-illiterate people access to the contents of the press, which would otherwise have been unavailable to them, but also made it possible to expand the number of consumers, literate or not, far beyond the number of individual buyers and readers.

### 'Events Worthy of Being Remembered': The Reception and Consumption of Press in Urban Catalonia

In the modern age, Catalonia saw the flourishing of a wide range of 'personal' writing, categorized as 'diaristic' or 'memoiristic', which includes such writings as diaries, autobiographies, individual or family journals, chronicles, memoirs, and other examples of similar or hybrid nature. In recent years, researchers have approached such 'memoir literature', both urban and rural, from different fields and perspectives.<sup>22</sup> Thanks to this interest, literary and historical studies of such texts have appeared; new editions have been published and works by authors from different social classes have been unearthed. But here we

20 Arxiu Provincial dels Caputxins de Catalunya (APCC), *Actos capitulares*, ff. 66–68. Quoted by Basili de Rubí, *Un segle de vida caputxina a Catalunya. 1564–1664. Aproximació històrico-bibliogràfica* (Barcelona, Caputxins de Sarrià, 1977), p. 695.

21 The Llover Family Collection (les Planes), *Varios*, f. [37], *marginàlia*.

22 The bibliography is becoming abundant. See, for example, *Cavallers i ciutadans a la Catalunya del Cinc-cents*, by Antoni Simon (Barcelona: Curial, 1991); James S. Amelang, *The Flight of Icarus. Artisan Autobiography in Early Modern Europe* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998); Eulàlia Miralles, 'La visió dels ciutadans: els dietaris personals', *Barcelona. Quaderns d'Història*, 9 (2003), pp. 207–232; 'Arxiu de la Memòria Personal' (<http://www.memoriapersonal.eu/>).

shall concentrate on a small chronological selection of texts and their authors which shed light on the consumption of the press and, in general, the printed information available in urban areas. We shall also combine these documents with other contemporary sources.<sup>23</sup>

### *Jaume Ramon Vila*

Jaume Ramon Vila (1570–1638), a Barcelonan priest from a noble Ampurdanese family, left a record of events that occurred between 1596 and 1601, ‘more particularly, the things occurring in Barcelona and in Catalonia, than elsewhere’.<sup>24</sup> According to the author himself, he did not want to write a ‘history’ but rather a ‘journal’ divided into several books, which he would probably leave unfinished and which would be more than worthy of a critical analysis. Like other contemporary urban memoirists, Vila was well informed of the news of the land, such as of ‘the arrival of the archbishop of Tarragona to this city and the canonization of Saint Ramon de Penyaforat’ (1596); of ‘the Duke of Maceda’s entry as viceroy of Catalonia’; of ‘how work has begun on the *Diputació* [provincial government] in front of Sant Jaume’ (1597); of the War of Roussillon in 1597; and of the ‘oath of the Duke of Fera as viceroy of Catalonia following the departure of the King [Philip III]’ (1599). For some of these events, Vila was either an eye-witness or, in some cases, an active participant. He was involved himself, for example, in the cause for the canonization of Ramon de Penyaforat. In other cases, however, the events had been explained to him or he had drawn the information from written sources. In fact, Vila included copies of various documents in the pages of his *Dietari*, among which was the following:

An account [relació] of what the Duke of Fera, lieutenant and Captain General of the King in the Principality of Catalonia, and other gentlemen [cavallers] have written from the town of Perpignan concerning the entry of the French in the town of Illa in the said county of Rossello on the 14 May, 1598.<sup>25</sup>

23 See Exposito, *Informació i persuasió*, Chapters 10 and 11.

24 AHCB, ms. B-100, p. 63. For more on Vila, see, among others, Fèlix Torres Amat, *Memorias para ayudar a formar un diccionario crítico de los escritores catalanes, y dar alguna idea de la antigua y moderna literatura de Cataluña*, (Barcelona: Imprenta de J. Verdaguer, 1836), pp. 655–659; Mar Batlle, *Patriotisme i modernitat a «La fi del Comte d’Urgell». Una aproximació a les fonts de l’obra, l’anònim autor i l’historiador Jaume Ramon Vila*, (Barcelona: Curial, 1999), pp. 111–121.

25 *Relacio del que lo duch de Fera llochinent, y cap[it]a g[enera]l per lo s[enyo]r rey en lo Principat de Cataluña, y altres cavallers escrihuen desde la vila de Perpiña per raho de la entrada que an fet los francesos en la villa de Illa del dit comptat de Rossello a 14 de maig 1598* AHCB, ms. B-100, pp. 142–144.

While Villa had access to the official channels that had prepared the narrative information, from which he obtained the story, this same account was printed in Barcelona by Joan Amelló, 'printer opposite the *Retoria del Pino*', albeit in Spanish and summarised.<sup>26</sup> A similar episode occurred with news of the entry of two thousand French soldiers in the Querol Valley and their defeat on the day of Corpus Christi. Villa added to his diary the same story that, also in Catalan, was printed by Jaume Galvan under the title *Relacio verdadera del que a suchseit en la entrada de Serdaña q[ue] à fet lo enemich frances als vint y dos de maix, 1598*. The author of *Tractat d'Armoria*, of Catalan lineages, therefore read and utilized the news of his time even when, at least in the case of the first account, the information was taken before the process of editing and publishing it in print.

Villa's interest in current affairs can be seen not only through these and other pages of his diary, but also from the documents that came into his possession: among the copies he had ordered, there was one entitled: 'Book nine of printed '*relacions*' of diverse and various events that took place in different parts of the world, composed and arranged by diverse authors, in both prose and verse, from 1631 until 1632.'<sup>27</sup> Compiled in Barcelona by Jaume Ramon Vila, priest'.<sup>28</sup> That is to say, a miscellaneous volume containing the printed news of those years which basically presented news from abroad. Villa, well-informed of the news of the land, did not neglect 'international news'.

### *Jeroni Pujades*

Another consumer of the press and smaller printed and handwritten materials was Jeroni Pujades (1568–1635). Born in Barcelona, he settled in Castelló d'Empúries in 1621. Pujades was a lawyer and a renowned jurist, who worked for the municipal governmental institution of Barcelona the *Consell de Cent* and a subdivision of this called the *Trentenari*. He was the legal adviser of the Captain-General of Empordà and the Fortress of Roses. He was also the author of the monumental *Coronica universal del Principat de Cathalunya*, collected

26 A copy is preserved in the Biblioteca de Catalunya (BC, F. Bon 2396) and another at the Universitat de Barcelona (UB, Reserva, top. 07 B-59/3/42-28).

27 Another example: *Sunday, 11 June, this present year [1600] there came into my possession an authentic 'relació' of certain relics and other remarkable things that were found in 1595 in a mountain near the city of Granada which, for being something of importance and being something ordinary, I shall make but passing mention*, AHCB, ms. B-100, p. 330. It is possible that Vila had read the following account, in print or a handwritten copy: *Memoria de las grandes maravillas que nuestro redemptor Jesu Christo ha sido servido de descubrir en el termino de la dichosa ciudad de Granada* (Barcelona: Pau Malo, [1595]) (USTC 351909).

28 Eulàlia Duran, 'Unes cartes amoroses del segle XVI en català', *L'espill*, 15 (1982), p. 28.

numerous rare documents and dabbled – not very successfully – in poetry.<sup>29</sup> It is unsurprising that he would also bring together a large library consisting of more than five hundred items, of various authors and volumes, plus maps and a ‘a selection of hand books’.<sup>30</sup> Today, however, he is best remembered for writing a diary from 1600 until his death, following the example of his father.<sup>31</sup>

The *Dietari*, of which four volumes have been preserved, is a valuable source for the study of how smaller materials were received and used. Indeed, in this work, Pujades brought together over two hundred papers, including handwritten and printed copies. Notable among these are announcements or edicts, royal decrees and orders, reports, Catalan and Hispanic libels and lampoons, prognostications or almanacs and, of course, the press. There is a series of texts that he mentions or pastes into the diaries. In a way, this Barcelonan memoirist was the native equivalent of the Parisian, Pierre de l’Estoile who was also a lawyer and servant of the Crown, author of the *Registres-Journaux* (1574–1611) which constitute one of the most valuable testimonies of the reigns of Henry III and Henry IV.

The meticulous nature of Pujades, obsessed by detail, led him to insert in the diaries a total of 80 printed newsletters, all in Spanish, including ‘relacions’, ‘cartes’, ‘avisos’ and ‘noves’. His method consisted of presenting or giving a summary of the news, usually in a few lines, though sometimes he would dedicate more space and certain personal additions. Then, the printed sheet was attached, either by being sewn or pasted, among the pages of the diary. This practice allowed him to keep all of the information without having to copy it. Thus, the reader whether himself, family or friends, could consult ‘extensively’ the printed material in question.

The third diary, covering the years 1621 to 1625, is the richest, and contains 59 news pamphlets. It begins as Pujades moved his home permanently to Castelló d’Empúries. The lack of the two previous volumes does not allow us to determine whether this considerable quantity of available press material was exceptional or not. Away from Barcelona, and missing it, perhaps his reading of ‘relacions’ – mostly published in the capital – was a way of compensating

29 See James Amelang, ‘El mundo mental de Jeroni Pujades’, in R.L. Kagan and G. Parker (eds.), *España, Europa y el mundo atlántico. Homenaje a J.H. Elliott* (Madrid: Marcial Pons, 2001), pp. 280–281; Eulàlia Miralles, *Sobre Jeroni Pujades* (Barcelona: IEC, 2010), pp. 170–182.

30 Miquel Pujol Canelles, ‘Aportació a la biografia de Jeroni Pujades. Una biblioteca particular de començament del segle XVII’, *Annals de l’IEE*, 18 (1985), p. 172.

31 Jeroni Pujades, *Dietari de Jeroni Pujades*, edited by Josep M. Casas Homs (Barcelona: Fundació Salvador Vives Casajuana, 1975–1976), 4 volumes.

for this physical distance from the principal centre for the publication, reading and production of information in modern Catalonia. The first and second diaries contain only 4 and 2 examples respectively, while in the fourth and last volume, the author attached 14. It must also be remembered that, in some periods, the author's ill health did not allow him to write about or attach such printed materials regularly.

35 of the 80 examples of printed news (44 per cent) read by Pujades, dealt with military events, a fact which is not unsurprising given the turbulent Europe of the time. As the abbot of Sant Miquel de Cuixà and 'Chancellor of His Majesty' wrote to him from Barcelona (1629), 'Here all is wars, and bad news, always with the threat of worse' (*Dietari*, IV, 195). Some of the printed works covered the battles of The Long War (1591–1606), the campaigns of Louis XIII of France against the Huguenots, and various episodes of the Thirty Years' War, such as the conquest of Breda by Ambrogio Spinola in the summer of 1625.<sup>32</sup>

Clearly, although living away from Barcelona in Castelló, Pujades was still able to obtain the latest news of war, both terrestrial and maritime, from Europe, America, Asia and North Africa. The aforementioned Thirty Years' War, which began in 1618, was a major stimulus for the manufacture of the printed news, both periodical and occasional. It was in this period when, in Catalonia, as in much of Europe, the first periodical press began to develop.<sup>33</sup> The war was a boost to the publishing industry which was further fed by that very demand,

32 *Relacion de la gran victoria alcançada por el Serenissimo Principe de Transilvania* (Barcelona: Sebastian de Cormellas, 1603); *Relacion verdadera de la cavalleria de los rebeldes de Puylaurens, Revel, y Sorre, desecha por el conde de Vieule* (Barcelona: Estevan Liberos, 1622) (USTC 5023593); *Relacion verdadera de las cosas notables que en el cerco de la ciudad de Breda en Flandes nuevamente an sucedido* (Barcelona: Sebastian y Jayme Matevad, 1625) (USTC 5011423).

33 Exposito, *Informació i persuasió*, pp. 178–184. For the European context see, among others, Brendan Dooley and Sabrina Baron (eds.), *The Politics of Information in Early Modern Europe* (London-New York: Routledge, 2001); Stéphane Haffemayer, *L'information dans la France du XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle. La Gazette de Renaudot de 1647 à 1663* (Paris: Honoré Champion, 2002), p. 16; Otto S. Lankhorst, 'Les premiers «Courants» hollandais et les autorités politiques', in *Gazettes et information politique sous l'Ancien Régime*, textes réunis par H. Duranton et P. Rétat, introduction de K.M. Baker (Saint-Étienne: Publications de l'Université de Saint-Étienne, 1999), pp. 213–219; Joad Raymond, *The Invention of the Newspaper. English Newsbooks 1641–1649* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2005), pp. 7–8; Carolyn Nelson and Matthew Seccombe, 'The Creation of the Periodical Press 1620–1695', in J. Barnard and D.F. McKenzie (eds.), *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), vol. IV, pp. 535–536; Mario Infelise, *Prima dei giornali. Alle origini della pubblica informazione (secoli XVI e XVII)*, (Rome: Laterza, 2002), pp. 82–84.

and hunger for information, of readers such as Pujades who, as a religious man, would undoubtedly have had a strong interest in the armed struggle in favour of Catholicism, the defence of the 'one true faith', whether against the 'heretic' Protestants, or the Muslim 'enemy'.<sup>34</sup> There were other, no less important, personal reasons to explain this penchant for military news. One of Pujades' sons was a soldier of the king, serving in Italy. Besides the correspondence he kept up with the young soldier (e.g. *Dietari*, III, 65), there were printed news-sheets which informed him – with the usual periods of silence and the obvious distortions of propaganda – of the campaigns of the armies of Philip III and Philip IV and, more specifically, the armed encounters in the areas where his own son was fighting (*Dietari*, IV, 64). It was during this long absence of his son, that Pujades acquired the following titles: *Avisos de Genova de onze de julio*, 1625; *Avisos ciertos y verdaderos* on the Valtellina War and 'y otros avisos, como de Palermo, Milan, y otras partes dignas de ser sabidas'; and an account written by Francisco Sánchez de Abreu, which contained, among other news, a description of a great battle near Novara and the 'victory of Bartolina [Valtellina]' among other 'things worthy of being known'.

Not everything was war news, however. Pujades also read 17 '*relacions*' and '*avisos*' regarding celebrations relating to the monarchy, the aristocracy and other dignitaries. These printed sheets usually provided plentiful detail on public arrivals into cities, royal weddings and baptisms, or coronations. He was able to follow, for example, the visit of the Prince of Wales to Madrid in 1623 by means of five '*relacions*', one of which was written by a 'professional' author – Andrés de Almansa y Mendoza – and printed in the capital by Diego Flamen-co.<sup>35</sup> In a brilliant analysis of these papers, Henry Ettinghausen noted: 'While the relations are ostensibly objective in the (for us) often tedious detail of their accounts, in reality they conform extraordinarily to ritual or convention'.<sup>36</sup> Indeed, the authors of these accounts, anonymous or not, failed to mention any problems in the ceremonial aspects or the political and personal disputes that

34 See Amelang, 'El mundo mental', p. 285.

35 See the compilation of fra Gaspar Vicens of these materials: UB, ms. 1008, ff. [378v–381v] (381v–384v), "Relacion de la partida del Serenísimo principe de Gales, que fue a 9 de setiembre 1623, a don Alonso Neli de Ribadeneyra, señor de la Vega de Porras, vezino de Valladolid, por Andres de Mendoza" See A. de Almansa y Mendoza, *Obra periodística*, edition and study by H. Ettinghausen and M. Borrego, (Madrid: Castalia, 2001, N°. 6). Other '*relaciones*' by Almansa y Mendoza have been collected by Vicens: UB, MS. 1009, ff. 50–[51v] (48–49v).

36 Henry Ettinghausen, *Prince Charles and the King of Spain's Sister – What the Papers Said* (University of Southampton, 1985), p. 18. Thank you to the author who provided me with a copy of this lecture.

tended to arise. Pujades, however, had other sources of information and was able to fill in details that the leaflets had censured or omitted. As he did in the case of a royal entrance to Barcelona in February 1630, Rafel Nogués described the celebrations organised by the city for the Queen of Hungary in a news-sheet printed in the Esteve Liberòs workshop.<sup>37</sup> Pujades sewed this sheet directly into his diary, the fourth volume, and then added the following:

But it should be noted that the author has omitted to say that, since the Queen was accompanied by the Archbishop of Seville and the Duke of Alba, the Council sent word to her that if, upon entering, she wished to have either of these at her side, the council would not set forth to receive her as they did not wish to give precedence to the viceroy, and that they would only visit her in her quarters. The Queen consented to the Council's wishes (*Dietari*, IV, 225–226).

This was not the only conflict that the authorities and the Catalan nobility had been obliged to evade during the celebrations.

In terms of abundance, after news of war and festivities came religious affairs. Pujades was a religious man and, in the last few years of his life, became very close to the Franciscan spirit. Not surprisingly, therefore, this religiosity is also evident in his consumption of the press: he read at least eight leaflets on this subject – including works on the institution of the Immaculate Conception in Rome, beatifications and martyrdoms, along with three on religious holidays. This scholarly man from Barcelona was very pious, God-fearing, and sometimes (at least from a modern perspective) somewhat gullible: he did not question the appearance of fantastic armies battling in the air, of birds with 'many legs and wings like lobsters', of demons and chariots of fire, of blood raining down, of good or bad omens announced by stars or solar eclipses. Therefore, we can assume that the extraordinary events that were described in the press must not have seemed strange to him. On the contrary, for example, a 'Declaracion de las señales y monstruos espantables que ha[n] aparecido en el ayre encima de la villa de la Rochela'.<sup>38</sup> His reading of predictions, such as those by 'el Piscatore' or Jaume Solà, and of the prophecies of Nostradamus

37 Rafael Seugon [Rafael Nogués], *El magestuoso recibimiento, y famosas fiestas que en la insigne ciudad de Barcelona se han hecho a la magestad de la Serenissima Reyna de Ungria doña Maria de Austria, que Dios guarde. Por Rafael Seugon. Copia primera* (Barcelona: Estevan Liberòs, 1630) (USTC 5027652).

38 This '*relació*', 'Impressa en Lion, y en Tolosa, y traduzida de frances en castellano por Bernardo Gordò natural de la villa de la Tronera, was printed in Barcelona by Estevan

must simply have confirmed what he already knew, that the Lord 'in His mercy, punishes us for our sins' (*Dietari*, I, 378).

The last two kinds of printed matter read by Pujades dealt with political events and a category that can be described as 'miscellaneous' but we will not delve any further here. In short, if Pujades, as a chronicler, was passionate about history, then, as a man and citizen of his time, he was also passionate about the present. And this is reflected in what he read of the press. In fact, although it appears that he never set foot outside of Catalonia, the 'relations' and other types of press, printed mostly in Barcelona, not only allowed him to expand his geographical horizons but also his knowledge of various episodes within and beyond the borders of the Principality.<sup>39</sup>

### *Miquel Parets*

Obviously, lawyers such as Pujades were not the only people in the city and the countryside who had access to printed ephemera. Nor were they the only ones who could take pen to paper and write reports or memoirs. The consumption of printed ephemera and the production of personal writing were both important aspects in the life of a Barcelonan craftsman named Miquel Parets. On 26 March 1626, this young man – then only sixteen – began writing a text, *Crònica*, which would eventually become a combination of urban chronicles or annals and an intimate journal: two 'notebooks', as the author called them, 'of many events that have taken place in Barcelona and in many other places in Catalonia worthy of being remembered'. This teenager, who went on to become a master tanner and a member of the *Consell de Cent*, began his work with the description of the coming of Philip IV to Barcelona and ended almost three and a half decades later, with the departure of the Barcelonan ambassador to the Court on 8 March 1660 – that is to say, half a year after the signing of the Treaty of the Pyrenees.

Parets copied and translated several documents, ranging from printed handbills or short announcements to the Treaty of the Pyrenees (1659). This craftsman was therefore a consumer of all kinds of informational products, among which were those of most interest to us here and which, in fact, were the most numerous: handbills with printed news, that is, the *press*. The fact that there is no mention of books among his earthly possessions, but there is mention

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Liberos in 1621. It was also published in Valencia: 'Impressa en Tolosa, y en Barcelona, y por su original en Valencia por Miguel Sorolla'.

39 Pujades owned only three titles printed in Madrid, two in Perpignan and two more without the stamp of the printer.



of 'various papers' which is probably significant.<sup>40</sup> In the post-mortem inventories of the period, this is a common formula to describe materials of little economic value, handwritten or printed, such as news stories and other kinds of public information that appeared sporadically or periodically. However, Parets did not necessarily acquire all the sources included in his chronicle: some of his acquaintances may have lent him printed or handwritten copies of such papers. In any case, Parets' notebooks contain, according to Maria Rosa Margalef, a total of 41 leaflets, of which 27 were in Catalan and 14 in Spanish – duly translated into his mother tongue.<sup>41</sup> We will not list the texts copied by Parets here – most of them are identified by Margalef – but we will offer some considerations on Parets' reading and his use of the press, that is to say on his process of cultural appropriation.

In the *Crònica*, we can distinguish at least three ways Parets incorporated or exploited the contemporary press: first, there was the verbatim copy, or nearly verbatim, of the printed sheets or newsletters he obtained with a corresponding translation into Catalan of those that had been printed in Spanish. For example, Parets copied and translated a 'segundo aviso' by Pablo Clascar del Vallés of the entry of Philip IV in Barcelona in 1626.<sup>42</sup> He adds, however, three extended passages. He did the same with a *Verdadera relacion de la presa que ha[n] hecho seys galeras de España de un vaxel de alto borde* (...) (1629) with a small additional note: the Muslim ship was seized at 5 o'clock in the morning 'and it was a dark night' he wrote, 'which in December, at five in the morning, is not day, but there was a ponderous moon, and so it can be said that they seized it "in the moon"'.<sup>43</sup> In the second method, Parets does not transcribe in

40 Arxiu Històric de Procotols de Barcelona (AHPB), Josep Ferrer, *Llibre d'inventaris i encants*, s.n. (7-VII-1661), 2. Quoted by James S. Amelang, 'L'autor: biografia i contextos', in Parets, *Crònica*, vol. 1, p. 60.

41 Rosa M. Margalef, 'Llengua i literatura en la Crònica de Miquel Parets', in Parets, *Crònica*, vol. 1, p. 172. The number of printed sheets copied into his notebooks is, in fact, higher.

42 *Segundo aviso de lo sucedido en Barcelona dende la desseada entrada de su magestad hasta la fecha desta 11 de abril, en el qual tiempo han acontecido muchas cosas notables y dignas de ser sabidas* (Barcelona: Sebastian and Jayme Matevat, vendese en casa de la viuda Biosca, 1626) (USTC 5020780); Parets, *Crònica*, vol. 1, 192.

43 *Verdadera relacion de la presa que ha[n] hecho seys galeras de España de un vaxel de alto borde, en la playa de Barcelona, en la qual havia cie[n]to y diez turcos, y diez y seys renegados, a sinco del mes de deziembre, de 1629* (Barcelona: Estevan Liberòs, 1629) (USTC 5012011); Parets, *Crònica*, vol. 1, 259–261. In contrast, in the case of a handbill on a similar theme, Parets adds nothing to the account in print: *Relacion verdadera de la presa que han hecho las ocho galeras del general Jua[n] Andria de Oria, principe de la Bella, de dos vaxeles que prendio ye[n]do a Cartagena a los primeros de agosto 1628. Compuesto por un soldado*

full the contents of the occasional or periodical press, but simply uses certain fragments in order to facilitate the recording of the annals. The third practice used by Parets does not include the printed text of the press at all, but instead, he summarises or completely rewrites the information in his own style. Clearly the titles of the sources of these are harder to identify and, furthermore, the author does not always resort to a single source.

Therefore, this raises the question: why did this literate craftsman combine these three practices in his appropriation of the press and other documents? The answer is not simple. The verbatim transcript or copy of leaflets seems to correspond to a strategy or a narrative imposition for all authors of that time, regardless of their cultured or humble origins, who wanted to write an urban chronicle. In effect, the press (and the propaganda) of the times were the main input for annals such as these and, in some cases, some papers were even openly offered for this purpose, as well as for their possible extension and modification.<sup>44</sup> Parets would often provide other details or modifications to the events recorded, as an eye witness himself or using accounts from other informants or from written sources. He also usually removed some of the erudite and mythological statements. Therefore, the craftsman and chronicler was merely continuing a widespread historiographical practice which began in ancient times, adapting it to the purposes of his work: writing a chronicle of Barcelona and other parts of Catalonia 'for those to come, so that in any time, they can find the day and the year that such things took place' as well as offering them some of his own thoughts and prudent advice. He does not always confine himself, however, to Catalonia. Parets also includes events worthy of report from outside the Principality, not least European episodes from the Thirty Years' War, such as the siege of Hondarribia. And if he is not altogether systematic with the declared purposes of his chronicle, nor is he with this process of providing 'extensive' copies. In other words, as we have said, Parets is not limited to one style of incorporating news sheets. He starts out with the consulted source, and then summarizes certain facts while never being, either wholly or partially, subordinate to the printed original.

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*q[ue] se hallo en ello* (Barcelona: Estevan Liberos, 1628) (USTC 5021212); Parets, *Crònica*, vol. I, 231233.

- 44 Parets even translated the closing words of a leaflet which the author, probably Rafael Nogués, used to offer his report for future amplification: "all this requires a better writer [or chronicler] and a pen more advantaged and a mind more subtle and a style more advantaged, but now I leave it, awaiting for what may be written in the future", Parets, vol. I, 305. The printed version was: [Rafael Nogues?], *Relacion verdadera de las famosas fiestas que en la presencia de su magestad se han hecho en la insigne ciudad de Barcelona. Primera copia* (Barcelona, Estevan Liberòs, 1632) (USTC 5020773).

Parets' use of the press and other sources throughout his *Crònica* would repay further investigation. However, with the indications we have given up to this point, one thing is quite clear: Parets, a tanner in Barcelona, was a great consumer of the press produced in the print shops of his city. The printed news-sheets were an essential source for his work, both for his personal diary and his chronicle, and were incorporated through a process of cultural appropriation. He copied, translated, adapted, expanded and summarized them. And not only that, the press also helped to expand his geographic and cultural knowledge.<sup>45</sup> Similarly, they must also have influenced his support of the Habsburg dynasty, unchanged until 1640, and his Catalan patriotism during the Catalan Revolt. In short, it seems to us, the memoirist and reader of the press, Miquel Parets, has special significance. He provides clear and detailed proof of the consumption of information among the relatively affluent urban craftsmen of his time. And while there is other evidence of this, even at levels of society less well-off than his own, none of them are as rich or, in general, as vivid as his.

Reading aloud in public in groups and individual reading of 'relations' and gazettes, along with other ephemera, were fairly widespread cultural practices among Catalan society during the first half of the seventeenth century, in cities and other smaller towns – as well as in the countryside. The social heterogeneity of consumers demonstrates the diffusion of the press up and down the social scale, as we have seen with the three cases studied here: Vila the clergyman, Pujades the doctor in church and civil law and Parets the craftsman. They are only three examples amongst many. The effective consumption of printed ephemera, with the 'press' at the forefront, helped readers and listeners to expand their horizons in terms of information, geography, politics and even history. They were the source of information for urban chronicles and annals. Some of these consumers, as we have seen, were quite critical readers with, however, the contradictions of the era: the jurist, Pujades, may have included certain ceremonial and political quarrels that had been omitted by the original author in a report on public festivities, but expressed no doubts regarding battles waged by aerial armies or of demonic apparitions, which were reported in many 'relations'. Certainly, the writers of these texts and the authorities who sponsored them or approved them were able to pursue certain propaganda

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45 See Xavier Torres, *Naciones sin nacionalismo. Cataluña en la monarquía hispánica (siglos XVI–XVII)* (València: PUV, 2008), pp. 277–278. Parets not only gathered information on Catalan and European geography through these papers. The 'avisos' of Pablo Clascar del Vallés, which Parets translated, mentioned countries much more 'exotic', such as Chile, Peru or the Moluques Islands. The 'relacions' on festivities contain numerous references to mythology and Classical Antiquity.

goals, but their interpretation by consumers could differ – sometimes greatly – by comparing them with other sources of information, printed or handwritten, and also with recourse to oral culture. All in all, the Catalans of the early modern era had at their disposal a volume of information incomparably greater than that of their ancestors: printed and handwritten news of diverse nature – true, incomplete, biased, and false. This information allowed consumers a sense of what was happening, albeit only partially, beyond their city walls. It also permitted them to leave a record of events ‘most worthy of being known’ both for their contemporaries, for their descendants, and for historians.

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